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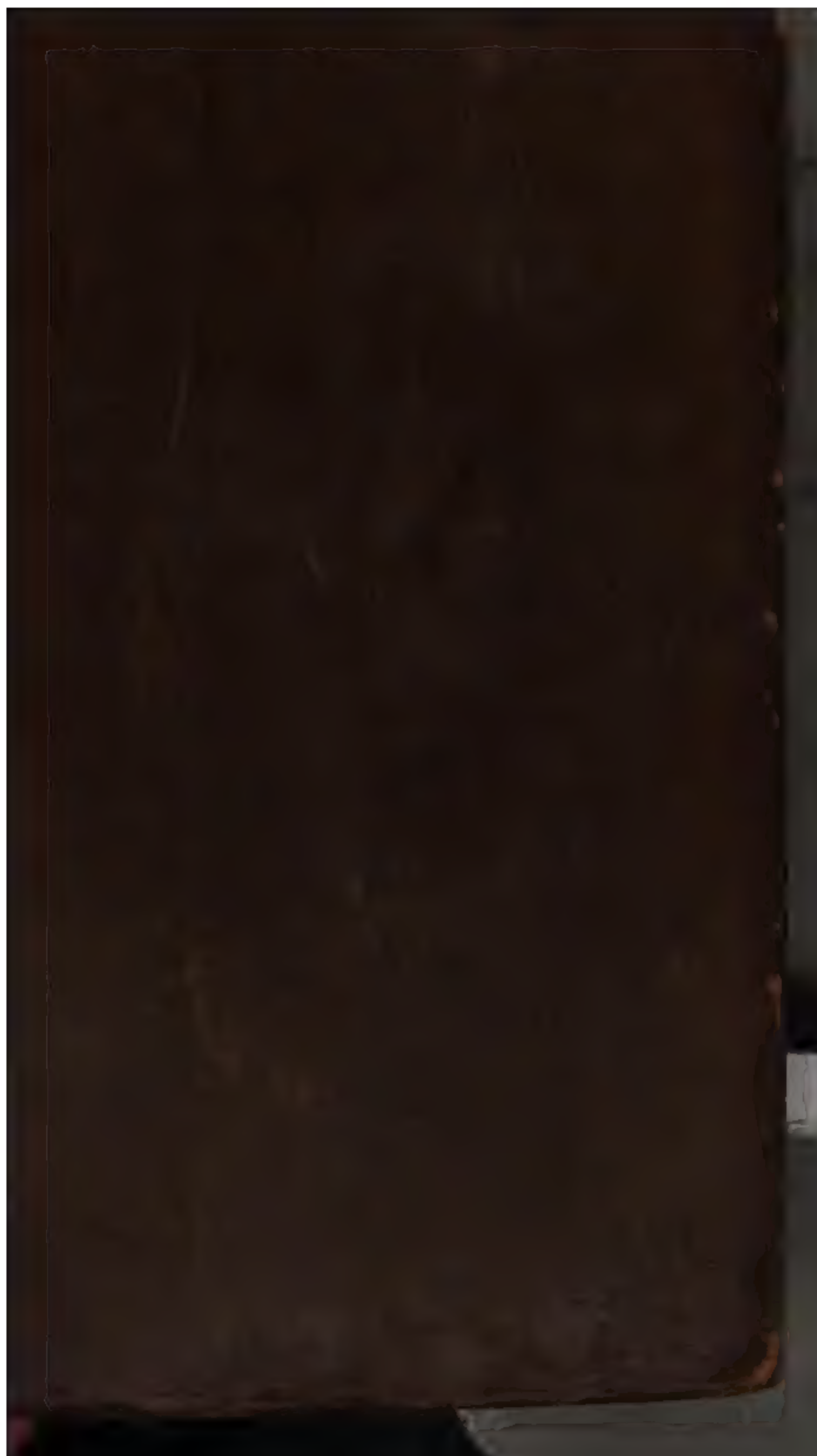
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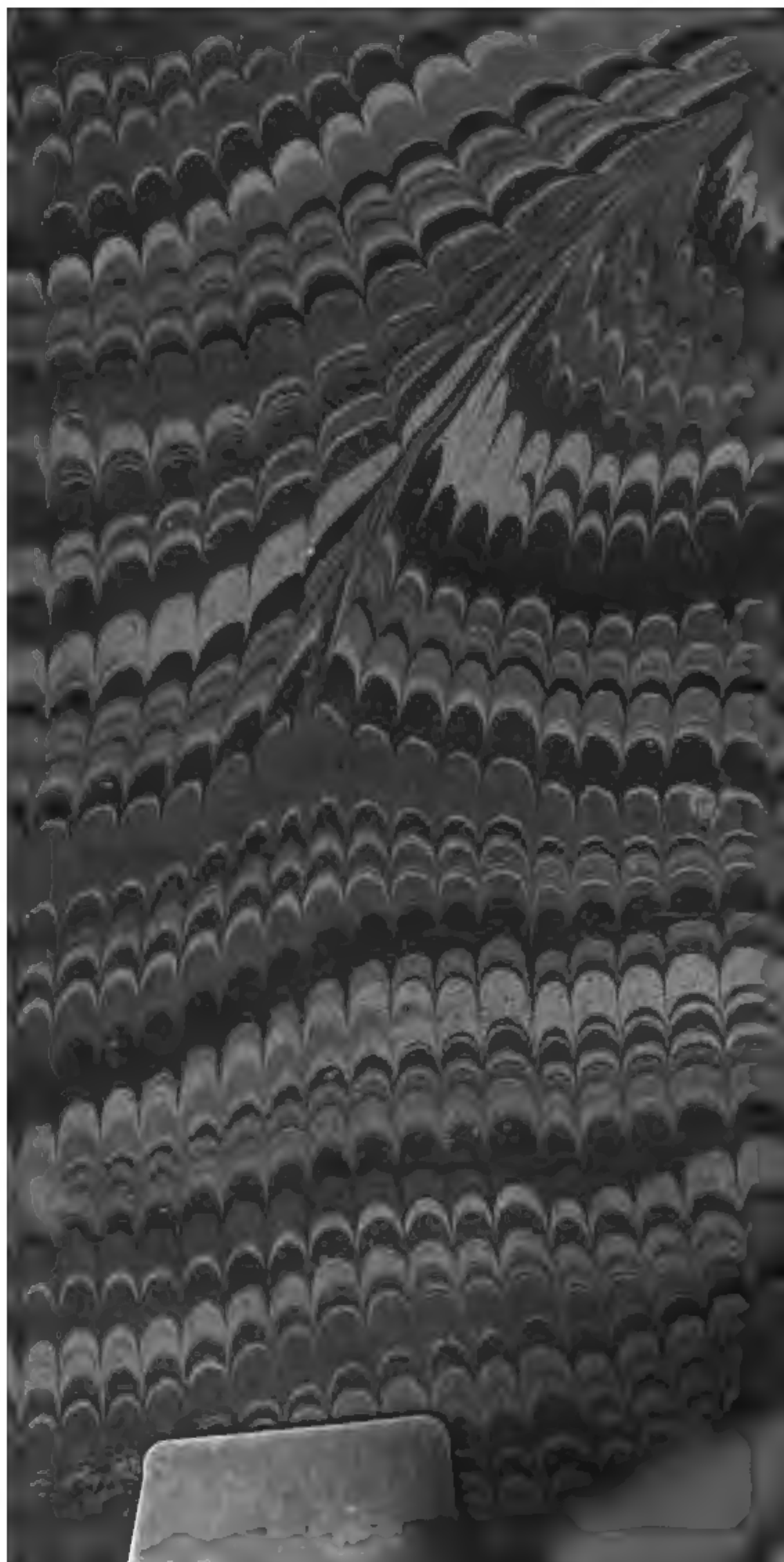
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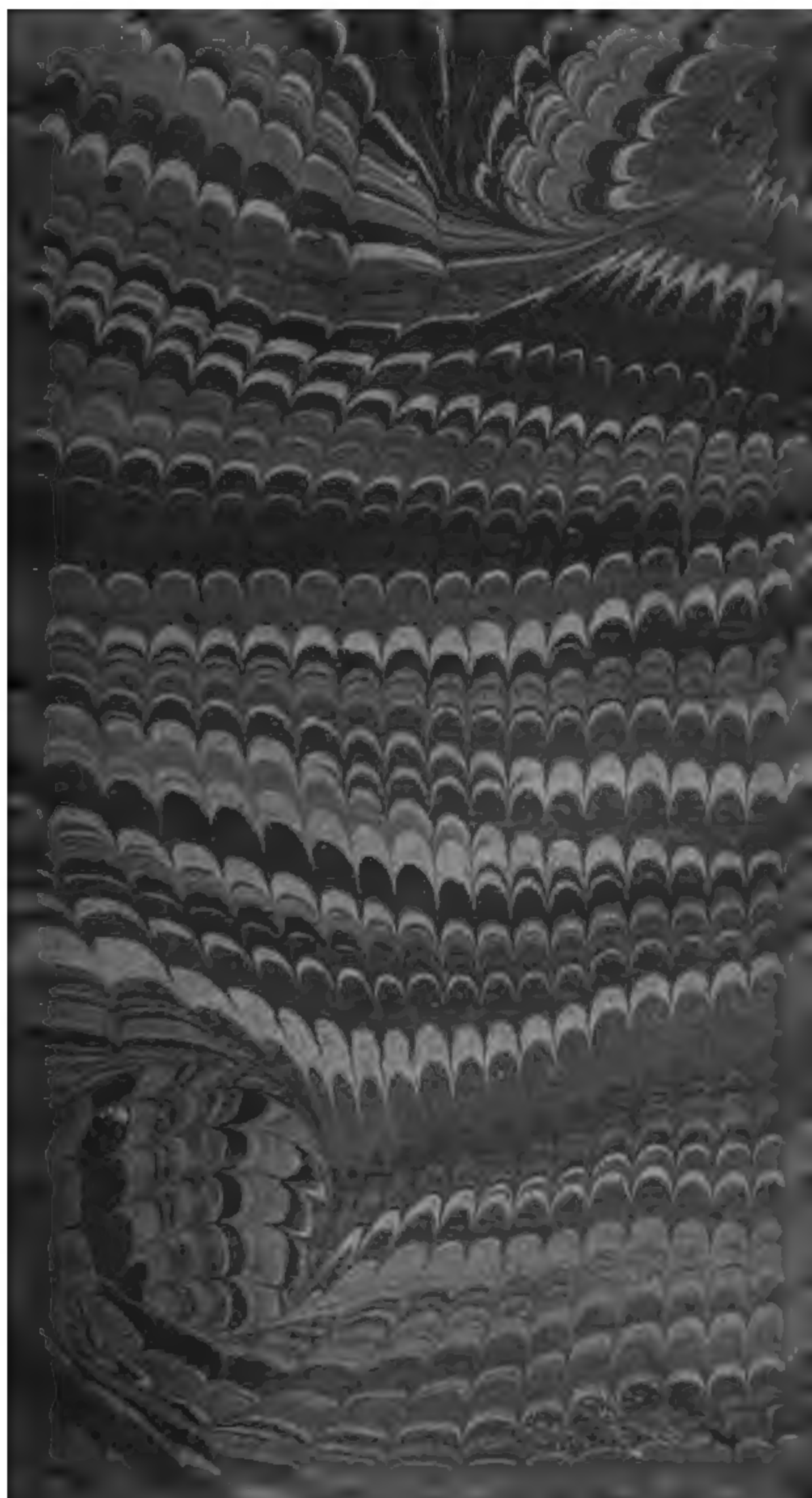
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A COMPENDIOUS  
**HISTORY**  
OF THE  
**REFORMATION,**  
AND OF THE  
Reformed CHURCHES in *France*.

FROM

The First Beginnings of the REFORMATION,  
TO THE

Repealing of the Edict of *NANTZ*.

WITH

An ACCOUNT of the late Persecution of the  
*French* Protestants under *Lewis XIV*. Extracted  
out of the Best Authorities.

A WORK never before Published.

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By the Reverend  
**STEPHEN ABEL LAVAL,**  
One of the Ministers of the United Chapels of *Castle-Street*  
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**VOL. IV. BOOK VII.**

Containing the History of twenty Years, nine Months, and some  
Days, from the 2d of *August* 1589, to the 14th of *May* 1610.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

**T**HESE two last Books, together with the Appendix, contain the Height of Happiness and the Extremity of Misery of our Reformed Churches in France. The Seventh Book treats of all the Difficulties they had to struggle with before they could obtain the Edict of Nantz; and of the Use they made of it, when obtained, during the Reign of that truly great Prince Henry IV. The Eighth Book treats of the Abuse our hot-headed Chiefs made of their Liberty; and of the Miseries they drew upon them and their Posterity by their preposterous Zeal, or rather, by their boundless Ambition or Avarice. In the Seventh Book, you see, that our Forefathers had not only to struggle against the Malice and Hatred of the Enemies of every true Frenchman, and the Natural Enemies of the Reformed, I mean the Leaguers, but also with the Policy of Henry IV's Council. As one of the principal Grievances of the League was the Tolerance granted to the Reformed, and that that Tolerance served as a main Pretence to the House of Guise, for raising their Fortune above their Condition, by exasperating the Catholics, not only against the Reformed, but even against their own natural King; certainly the King's Council had no less Difficulty than the Reformed, to struggle with, to satisfy

*these last in their Demands, how just soever they were, without giving too great an Offence to the others, who were more powerful, either if you consider their Number or their Quality, and the Rank they did hold in the State. And it is what our Historians, even of those Times, much more of our Days, did not think proper to consider. If we were intirely to rely upon D'Aubigné and Benoit, who wrote above sixty Years after him, Henry IV. was a very ungrateful and unjust Prince, in regard of his Reformed Subjects, because he denied them things which he could not grant without endangering his Crown, and even his own Life. But if we do consult Du Pleffis, how zealous soever he was for his Religion, his Zeal being directed by a Christian Prudence, how eager soever he was, in the pursuit of the Safety and Welfare of the Churches whereof he was a Member, we shall find that Henry was a Prince, who commanded Love, Respect and Trust from the Reformed, and that not only he protected, but that he loved them. And if we do but consider the Circumstances of the Times, he granted them whatever he could grant with safety, and that, though he was forced out of their Religion in order to enjoy his Crown with some earthly Comfort, nevertheless they never had before, much less after him, a better Protector. The Divines amongst us carried the point about the Anti-Christ much further than common Prudence allowed them; and were very near obliging that Prince to take severe Measures with them; nevertheless he spared them, knowing that the Principles whereby they were actuated, were all tending to his own Preservation, and that if some of them had some other view, they were over-ruled*



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*ruled by the far greatest Number. In one word, there is no true Frenchman, who shall consider the Circumstances of the Times, who will not readily allow, that Henry IV. was more strict to his Word, more good to his Subjects, of what Denomination soever, than any of his Predecessors, or Successors have ever been: And that the Reformed lost in his Death their only Support next to God. I have said, when speaking of his Death, that he expired in his Coach; It is the Account given by Mezeray and Perefixe: But the Author of the Memoirs of Mary of Medicis's Regency, and another Author, say, that he was carry'd Speechless back to the Louvre, and that he expired in it.*

*The Eighth Book contains the boisterous Reign of Lewis XIII. and that of Lewis XIV. We find under the first, the dreadful Calamities which the criminal Passions of some leading Men among us drew upon the whole Reformed Party in France. Our Enemies knew perfectly well how to make their Profit of our intestine Divisions, how to foment them for the Acceleration of our Ruin. These things I have thoroughly represented in their native Colours; and if I have given no Quarter to our Enemies, I thought myself in Duty bound, not to show more favour to the Heads of our Party, whenever I have met them deviating from the grand Principles of our Religion, in order to gratify their Ambition, Avarice and other-like unruly Passions. I have had no Respect for Men, let their Birth, Dignities, Charges, Employments, &c. be ever so much respectable in themselves; none of these things can alter the Nature of Actions, and of wicked and unjust make them good and just. If I have*

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*freely*

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*freely spoken my Mind concerning those great Men; who were at the head of the Reformed Party, whenever occasion required it; How could it be expected that I should be less free with our Enemies, whenever I find them trampling upon all the Laws, not only of Justice, but of Humanity itself, in order to gratify their exorbitant and unruly Passions? Methinks it is enough, if I have not charged them with what they were not guilty of: Have I done it? I must answer for it, unless by unquestionable Authorities I should be able to make the Charge good. At least, I am very sensible, and always have been so, that I could not avoid the Censure of the Publick, unless the Facts I do relate should be grounded upon the Testimony of People of a creditable Character, and I am conscious that I have related none but what was grounded upon such an Evidence. Indeed I may have been misled by my Authorities, but then it will be want of Judgment, and not a want of Probity. Now the Authors which I have made use of for composing the History of the Reign of Henry the Great, are, for the most part, the same, as those I had before my Eyes, when I wrote the former Volumes. Thuanus, Mezeray, The Memoirs of the League, The Life of the Constable Les Disguieres, That of the Duke of Espernon, The Life, Letters and Memoirs of Du Plessis Mornay, D'Avila, D'Ossat, Du Perron, Sully, &c. &c. Some of them, such as Thuanus, &c. failed me before the Death of that incomparable Prince. As to the Reign of his Successor, Du Plessis has been my POLAR STAR to the Year 1623, and whatever I have found in others, that was either contradicted by, or not conformable to the Relation given by that great*

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great Man, when he speaks as Actor, or as Spectator, I took it for granted, that it was not true, and consequently, I thought proper either to omit it, or to censure it. But that great Light of our Reformed Churches was put out in 1623, and I dare say, that as to Integrity, Uprightness of Mind, or Impartiality, I could not supply his Place by any other. The *Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan*, Pontis, *Bassompierre*, *Battista Nani's History of Venice*, *Le Vassot's History of Lewis XIV.* are the chief Directors which I have followed in writing the remaining Part of the Life of that Prince. As we came nearer our Times, I met with more Darkness, at least as to the certainty of several things, which I took to be written with too great a Partiality, and too little Caution in discerning the Truth. Therefore I thought proper to confine myself to some general Matters confirmed by the concurrent Testimony of several Authors contemporary, who have written some Years after each other, such as *Claude*, *Jurieu*, *Bancillon*, *Benoit*, &c. In truth, being creditably informed, that though they were contemporary, and have written all of them about our Affairs in the interval of 15 Years, nevertheless, they had not copied one after another, I have taken it for granted, that whatever was confirmed by the concurrent Testimony of three of them, and not contradicted by the others, was certainly true; and having found Matters enough grounded upon such an Evidence as well as upon publick Records, I thought I should oblige the Reader, did I abstract as much out of these Authors as was sufficient to inform him of the manifold unnatural Injustices we had to suffer under that perfidious King, without

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tiring his Patience. For that reason it is, that after having run over the first 36 Years of the tyrannical Reign of Lewis XIV. I have set forth under eight general Heads, the several Methods made use of, for compassing our Ruin; howsoever unjust and wicked, and almost incredible, they might appear to the Reader, they are however certainly true, grounded upon Matters of Fact well attested. I don't repent, and consequently I don't, nor I shan't beg my Reader's Pardon, for having spoken of Lewis XIV. and of his Clergy, in the Strain I have done; I consider, and always have considered, and shall consider the first as the Plague of Mankind, designed by the Almighty to be the Rod of his Indignation upon the Nations who did not reverence his Holy Name, like the Assur of old. As to the others, though some amongst them, such as Cardinal Le Camus, Bishop of Grenoble, the good Bishop of Pons, and some few others must be excepted from the general Rule; I look upon all the rest as a Pack of Hounds, thirsty after the Blood of Saints, and who deserved no better than to be named with Execration throughout all the future Ages of the World; and indeed their Words and Works sufficiently show what they were. As to my Appendix, few Pages excepted, it is wholly abstracted out of a Manuscript Memoir, written by the Rev. Mr. Graverolles, one of my Predecessors in the two United Chapels of Castle-street and Berwick-street, and which he had designed for the Press. He had been Minister in the Church of Nimes, and his Circumstances enabled him to be thoroughly informed of the Truth of what he has written.

I have nothing more to say, than to refer my Reader to the Errata; and to remember, that I am a Frenchman.

An

## An Additional L I S T of some Subscribers.

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THE



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# ERRATA in the Second Edit

Page. Line. Alter. - - -

**P.** 50. l. 12. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 51. l. 13. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 to stand. p. 50. l. 1. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 52. l. 14. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 53. l. 15. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 54. l. 16. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 55. l. 17. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 56. l. 18. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 57. l. 19. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 58. l. 20. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 59. l. 21. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 60. l. 22. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 61. l. 23. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 62. l. 24. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 63. l. 25. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 64. l. 26. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 65. l. 27. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 66. l. 28. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 67. l. 29. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 68. l. 30. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 69. l. 31. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 70. l. 32. A. it will. Change. - which is

# ERRATA in the Eighth Edit

**P.** 50. l. 12. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 51. l. 13. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 52. l. 14. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 53. l. 15. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 54. l. 16. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 55. l. 17. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 56. l. 18. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 57. l. 19. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 58. l. 20. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 59. l. 21. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 60. l. 22. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 61. l. 23. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 62. l. 24. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 63. l. 25. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 64. l. 26. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 65. l. 27. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 66. l. 28. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 67. l. 29. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 68. l. 30. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 69. l. 31. A. it will. Change. - which is  
 70. l. 32. A. it will. Change. - which is



*ed by Clement X. Translation of the Chamber of Castres. Deputies of the Reformed sent to the Bastile. War against the Dutch. Ministers, &c. prosecuted in Guienne. Pelisson's Inhumanity. Ways for making Profelytes. Cbevalier of Rohan's Plot. Turenne's Death. The Count of Schomberg made Marshal of France. Clement X. dies, Innocent XI. succeeds. Several Injustices. Ruvigni the Son succeeds his Father as Deputy-General. Ruin of the Reformed resolved. Several Injustices and Persecutions. Half-parted Chambers suppressed. Mass restored at Geneva. Eight Heads of Persecution. I. Law Suits. II. Depriving of Employments. III. Missionaries. IV. Taking away of Children. V. Persecutions against Ministers, instanced in several. VI. Persecutions against Churches, instanced in several. VII. Persecutions against Books, and by Books. VIII. Military Executions. Revocatory Edict of Fontainbleau, October 22. 1685. N. S.*

## Contents of the Appendix.

I. **O***F the Dragoonade. Of Mr. Le Jeune's Sufferings. Of Mr. De La Magdelaine. Samuel Guery. Of Mrs. Fie-Fontaine. Mr. Charpentier. Mr. Renaud. Of Mrs. Tanon. Of Mr. Palmentier. Of James Ryau. Of several Ladies and Gentlewomen. Of Mr. Beauregard. Of the Rev. Dr. James Pine-ton of Chambrun. Of Mrs. Belly. II. Of the Prisons and other nauseous Places. Of Dr. Jortin. Of the Marquis of Rochegude. Of La Flassehiere, a Prison. III. Of the House of Propagation at Uzez. Of the Manufactory at Bourdeaux. Of Frances Pastre. Of several other Women. Of the Hospital of Valence. Sufferings of Mrs. La Farrelle. Of Mr. Menuzet. IV. Of the Gallies. V. Of Transportation. VI. Of those that have suffered Death. VII. Of the dragging of Corpses after Death. The King's Declaration concerning Religion of May 14. 1724. Some Reflections upon it.*



ERRATA

## ERRATA in the Seventh Book.

*p. Page. l. Line. i. instead. r. read.*

**P** 36. l. 12. *i.* of which, Chambers, *r.* instead of which Chambers. *p.* 39. l. 23. Bois Dauphine, *r.* Bois-Dauphin. *p.* 56. l. 35. able stand. *r.* able to stand. *p.* 80. l. 4. Family Barons. *r.* Family, the Barons. *p.* 110. l. 15. Fever had produc'd. *r.* Fever proceeded. *p.* 119. l. 6. would yield, *r.* would have yield. *p.* 153. l. 8. near at an end. *r.* near at hand. *p.* 170. l. 34. Castle Dijon. *r.* Castle of Dijon. *p.* 173. l. 15. Prætors. *r.* Proctors. *p.* 176. l. 19, 20. what they ought to be done. *p.* 194. 20, 21. wonder'd if. *r.* wonder'd that. *p.* 276. l. 4. related. *r.* relating. *p.* 394. l. 21. they took down their Ladders, *r.* they took to their Ladders. *p.* 415. l. 20. the Senate. *r.* the Synod. *p.* 419. l. 13. her Children. *r.* her Child. *p.* 452. l. 3. suffered him to remain not. *r.* suffered him not to remain. *p.* 453. l. 11, 12. thought to say. *r.* thought proper to say. *p.* 458. l. 34. opened this Sessions. *r.* opened their Sessions. *p.* 462. The 3d Article is somewhat ambiguous; my meaning is, that *Melvin* was called for to be one of the Minifters of *Rochelle*. *p.* 463. l. 32. *La Miraude*. *r.* *La Mirande*.

## ERRATA in the Eighth Book.

**P** 504. l. 24, 25. the like seen. *r.* the like was seen. *p.* 517. l. 8. shining. *r.* shined. *p.* 530. l. 12, 13. common Executioner's Sentence of the Parliament. *r.* common Executioner's hand, by Sentence, &c. *p.* 553. l. 23. cruel y. *r.* cruelly. *p.* 554. l. 14. *Nantes*, *r.* *Mantes*. *p.* 563. l. 6. *Cattino*. *r.* *Cattino*. *p.* 577. the Note L E A R. *r.* D E A R. *p.* 582. l. 14. earnestly. *r.* earnestly. There must be some mistake as to the Sums allow'd as a gratuity both to Mr. *Charmier* and Mr. *Petrin*; these differing from what had been allowed; but not paid some Years before by another Synod. I have followed *Quick's* Synodicon. *p.* 584. l. 9. and supposed them. *r.* supposed them. *p.* 606. l. 14. obscure Birth. *r.* uncertain. *p.* 644. l. 29. to be feared, was &c. *r.* to be feared lest &c. *p.* 653. l. 27. and spoke but very little wiser &c. *r.* and spoke, but was a little wiser &c. *p.* 721. l. 8, 9. not the Inhabitants &c. *r.* not that the &c. *p.* 723. l. 12. with much &c.

## E R R A T A.

*Œc.* *r.* with as much *Œc.* *p.* 724. *l.* 12. Till this time  
*Œc.* *r.* Till now *Œc.* *p.* 729. *l.* 20. formerly opposed.  
*r.* formerly had opposed. *p.* 741. *l.* 38. several of the  
Members. *r.* several Members. *p.* 755. *l.* 22. to tend.  
*r.* to come. *p.* 846. *l.* 15. *D'Ancre* was of a noble Ex-  
traction; *Œc.* See what I say in the Preface upon that  
Subject. *p.* 853. *l.* 12. who by their means *Œc.* *r.*  
who by the Intrigues of the two first *Œc.* *p.* 864. *l.*  
7, 8. granting. *r.* granted. *p.* 868. *l.* 22. built *Œc.* *r.*  
burnt *Œc.* *p.* 911. *l.* 3. The first. *r.* The fifth. *p.*  
928. *l.* 8. for though he had. *r.* though they had. *p.*  
1007. *l.* 13. vindictive. *r.* vindictive. *p.* 1008. *l.* 27.  
or in the last Year. *r.* the Year before. *p.* 1013. *l.* 1. con-  
trary—against. *r.* contrary—to. *p.* 1026. *l.* 25. sup-  
pressed. *r.* attacked. *l.* 26. *Luo.* *r.* *Luc.* *Sancede.* *r.*  
*Saucede.* *p.* 1027. *l.* 11. Provision. *r.* Division. *p.* 1044.  
*l.* 32. *Provence.* *r.* Province. *p.* 1047. *l.* 24. had set an  
Edge *Œc.* *r.* had for many Years together whetted the  
Ax, which at last sever'd his Head. *p.* 1051. *l.* 7. a-  
gainst their Government. *r.* the Government. *p.* 1076.  
*l.* 26. II. They were allowed *Œc.* *r.* That they should  
be allow'd *Œc.* *p.* 1104. *l.* 10. 1695. *r.* 1595. *p.* 1109.  
*l.* 21. *Anne.* *r.* *Mary.* *p.* 116. *l.* 37. whereas. *r.* because.  
*p.* 1169. *l.* 14, 15. Printer. *r.* Bookseller.

## *E R R A T A in the Appendix.*

**P** 10 *l.* 8. between it *Œc.* *r.* between them. *p.* 43.  
*l.* 8. and then he would. *r.* and then they would.

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*N. B.* I have omitted to speak of Marshal  
*d'Ancre* in the Preface; concerning whom I say,  
*p.* 846, that he was of a Noble Extraction: It  
is the Account given by *Bassompierre* of that  
famous Favourite, and whom I had not consulted  
as yet, when I have said in the seventh Book,  
*that he was of a mean Extraction*; I had then  
before me a Collection of Pamphlets, or rather  
Libels, published against the Ministry under  
the Minority of *Lewis XIII.* *Bassompierre* is  
rather to be credited.

HISTORY



# HISTORY

OF THE

## REFORMATION,

AND OF THE

### Reformed CHURCHES in *France*.

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The Fourth and Last Volume.

*Containing the History of ninety-six Years, two Months, and nine Days from the 2d of August 1589, to the 11th of October 1685.*

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#### BOOK VII.

*Containing the History of twenty-one Years, nine Months, and thirteen Days, from the Accession of Henry IV. to the Crown of France, on the 2d of August 1589, to his Death, which happened on the 14th of May 1610.*

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**T**HIS REIGN is divided into two parts. The first contains nine <sup>I. Introduct.</sup> Years wanting two Months, from the 2d of *August* 1589, to the Peace of *Vervins*, sworn unto by King *Henry IV.* at the beginning of *June* 1598. The second, contains the remaining part of his Life, about twelve Years. The first Part was exceedingly thorny, confused, and perplexed, till he was acknowledged King of *France* by

VOL. IV. B all

Introduet. all his Subjects, throughout the whole Kingdom ; for during all that Time, the most impudent and passionate Leaguers, styled him only THE BEARNESE, some more moderate, THE PRINCE OF BERN, and the noblest Title bestowed upon him by some others of the Catholick Party was that of KING OF NAVARRE. That Part offers to our Sight a horrid Scene of the most unjust Passions, displaying by turns their direful Effects, Hatred, Ambition, Avarice, Blind Zeal, Rebellion, Disloyalty, Treason, Fury, Rapaciousness. But HENRY having been trained up in Adversities, and fed as it were upon bitter Roots from his Cradle to the present Times, extricated himself by hard Labour out of all these Difficulties, and tasted at last the sweet Fruits of his Magnanimity.

No Prince in *France* had had so little prospect of ever succeeding to that Crown, as our *Henry* had at his Birth-Day, for tho' he was descended in a right masculine Line from *Lewis IX.* alias *St. Lewis*, by *Robert* Count of *Clermont* in *Beauvaisis*, his youngest Son, who married *Beatrix*, Daughter and Heiress of *Agnez* of *Bourbon*, Heiress of *Archembaud* Lord of *Bourbon* ; yet at this time he was related to the Crown, but in the tenth or eleventh Degree, and there were six Princes between himself and the Throne when he was born in 1553, viz. King *Henry II.* who was then but 35 Years old, his four Sons, *Francis II.* *Charles IX.* *Henry III.* *Francis* Duke of *Alençon*, and his own Father *Anthony* King of *Navarre* who was then but 33 Years old. Nevertheless his Right was thought so indisputable by the greatest part of the People, that had it not been for his Religion, he would have met with no other Opposition

position to the full Enjoyment thereof, but from those of the Leaguers that adhered to the House of *Lorrain*, which could not oppose him long, being too inconsiderable.

Henry IV.  
1589.  
Pope Six-  
tus V.

In speaking of the first part of this Reign, I shall confine my self to what relates more nearly to my main Design, as to the Battles, Fights, Encounters, Sieges, abortive Negotiations, &c. Of all these Things only by the way.

As soon as the King was dead, his *Navarrese* Majesty returned to his own Quarters at *Meudon*, attended by some of his Confidents; there he consulted with them about what was to be done in the present Emergency, some advised him to raise the Siege of *Paris*, and retire to *Tours* with such Troops of the royal Army as would follow him, besides his own; at first the King inclined to it, fearing lest by endeavouring to preserve the *Northern* Countries, he should be in danger of losing both the *Southern* and *Northern*. But *Guitry*, a Lord of great Capacity and Experience, set forth in a full Light how dishonourable such a Step would be, how hurtful to his Majesty's Interest, that most part of the Nobility in the royal Army had their Estates situated on this side the *Loire*, whither they would repair, did they perceive any Faint-heartedness in the King, any Intention of forsaking them; that the *Switzers* his Auxiliaries thinking themselves released from their Engagement with the late King by his Death, would certainly return into their own Country without any Delay, did his Majesty leave the *Seine* in order to return to the *Loire*, but very likely would stay at *Sancy's* Persuasion if he remained; that they ought to be spoken to, and their Intention known, before they came to

It.

The King  
of Na-  
varre con-  
sults what  
to do.

*Some Commotions in Poitou, &c. A Political Assembly at Gergeau. Assembly of the Clergy at Paris. Marriages at Court. Truce for 12 Years between Spain and the United Provinces. Petitions of the Reformed favourably answered. The nineteenth National Synod. Las Diguieres promoted to the Marshal's Staff. The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain. The King's vast Preparations for the Execution of his great Design. His Scheme. The Means he employed to execute it. His Preparations. He is upon the point of beginning. His march deferred. He is murdered; his Character.*

## CONTENTS of the Eighth Book.

**T**HE deceased King is sadly lamented by all true Frenchmen. The Queen-Mother is declared Regent. Great Jealousies at Court. Ravallac tried; affected Negligence in the Prosecution. Ravallac's Trial, Condemnation, and Execution. Proceedings of the Parliament against the Doctrine of the Jesuits. The Jesuits are exposed to the Censure of the Preachers. The King's Funeral. The Prince of Condé arrives at Court. The Regency, may be considered under four different Shapes. Juliers relieved. The Queen repeals several Money-Bills. Sully's Imprudence. The Duke of Bouillon's Behaviour. Du Plessis Mornay's Generosity. The King's Declaration confirming the Edict of Nantz. Some Observations upon the same. The Reformed send their Deputies to Court. They think of their own Safety; they resolve to ask a Political Assembly. Reasons against it. Licence for holding a Political Assembly granted. The King's Coronation. Sully's Resignation of his Offices. Bellarmine's Book condemned by the Parliament. The Nuncio's Complaints against the Parliament's Decree. Jesuit Aubigny's sudden Death. Preparations for the Political Assembly; they open their Sessions; their Proceedings. Instructions given to the Representatives. Some Considerations



derations about that Assembly. Pamphlets published against it. Causes of our Misfortunes, 1. Ambition and Avarice of the great Men. 2. The King and Queen-Mother's Character. Du Plessis's Book censured. The Duke of Savoy's Designs upon Geneva. Devices of the Court against the Reformed; they send Deputies to Court. Some Reflections upon the Marshal of Bouillon's Conduct. Endeavours to procure a Reconciliation. Rashness of the Duke of Rohan. The Duke of Bouillon Ambassador in England. The twentieth National Synod. Success of the Mediator's Negotiations. Some Reflections upon the whole Affair. Death of the Count of Soissons. Reconciliation of Du Plessis with Rohan. Some Broils at Saumur composed. Justice done by the Chamber of the Edict at Paris. An Edict in behalf of the Bishop of Montpellier. The Prince of Condé with his Adherents absent from Court. The Prince's Manifesto; the Queen's Answer. She prepares to oppose the Prince. The Prince solicits the Reformed; but in vain. The Prince treats with the Queen, and concludes. The twenty-first National Synod. Some Account of Ferrier. Suarez's Book branded by the Parliament of Paris. The Pope exasperated at it. The Court's Journey into Brittany. New Broils at Court. Remonstrances of the Parliament. The Reformed solicited by the Prince. Of Les Disguieres. The Court insists as to the Place of the Political Assembly. The Court yields, and appoints Gergeau. The Reformed desire Grenoble, which is granted. Retreat of the Prince, &c. from Court. Fruitless Negotiations for his Return. The King sets out for his Journey into Guienne; and publishes a Declaration against the Prince, &c. It's Inefficacy on account of the petulant Spirit of the Clergy. Du Plessis's good Advices. Why ineffectual. Proceedings of the Assembly of Grenoble. They send some Deputies to the King; their Demands partly favourably answered; but not to the Satisfaction of the Deputies. They write to the Duke of Rohan, who zealously resolves to take

Henry IV. Prince, and their Example will influence their  
 1589. Family and Dependants.

Pope Six-  
tus V.

—

V.

They agree  
to acknow-  
ledge Hen-  
ry upon  
certain  
Terms.

At last this Opinion prevailed, viz. to ac-  
 knowledge *Henry of Bourbon* as King of  
*France*, to swear unto him their Allegiance up-  
 on these Terms. 1°. That he shall promise  
 upon the word of a King, that he shall alter  
 nothing in the Catholick Apostolick Roman  
 Religion, neither in its Doctrine, nor in its Dis-  
 cipline. 2°. That he shall dispose of all Ec-  
 clestiaſtical Dignities and Preferments only in be-  
 half of Persons well qualified as to their Learn-  
 ing and Morals, and profeſſing the Catholick  
 Religion. 3°. And whereas he had oftentimes  
 declared, before he was called to the Crown,  
 that, as to his own Religion, he was ready to  
 ſubmit himſelf to the Determination and In-  
 ſtruction of a free general or national Council,  
 they required that he would be pleaſed to ſum-  
 mon one in ſix Months Time if it was poſſible,  
 and to ſtand by its Deciſion. 4°. That in the  
 mean while he ſhould forbid the publick Exer-  
 ciſe of any other Religion beſides the Catholick  
 throughout the whole Kingdom, thoſe Places  
 excepted which are now in the hands of the  
 Reformed, according to the Articles of the  
 Truce agreed with the late King in *April* laſt,  
 and that the ſame ſhall ſubſiſt till otherwiſe or-  
 dained either by a general Pacification of the  
 Kingdom, or by the States General to be ſum-  
 moned in ſix Months, if poſſible. 5°. That  
 none but Catholick Governors ſhall be put in  
 the Cities and Caſtles to be taken during the  
 War, thoſe excepted for which it has been o-  
 therwiſe provided by the abovesaid Truce. 6°. That none but Catholicks ſhall be advan-  
 ced to the Dignities, Commandſhips, and  
 publick Offices in the Cities, always excepting  
 thoſe

those which are held by the Reformed : Lastly, Henry IV That he shall preserve the Dignities, Privi-<sup>1589.</sup> leges, Prerogatives, Liberties and Estates be-<sup>Pope Six-</sup> longing to the Princes, Dukes, Peers, Great <sup>tus V.</sup> Officers of the Crown, Lords, Nobles, and other faithful Subjects, and that he shall have a particular Regard for the late King's faithful Ministers, and shall endeavour to bring the detestable Authors, Abettors, and Accomplices of the Parricide perpetrated on his most sacred Person, to a condign Punishment, which might serve for an Example to deter other Villains from committing the Like. These Terms being consented to by his Majesty, the Princes of the Blood, the Dukes, Peers, Great Officers of the Crown, Lords and Nobles, were to acknowledge *Henry IV. King of France and Navarre* for their lawful Sovereign, and swear Allegiance unto him, promising to spare neither their Labours, Lives, or Estates till they had exterminated the Rebels who usurped the supreme Authority in the Kingdom ; and were to desire his Majesty to summon the General States, to satisfy what was required of him especially as to Religion, and to give them leave to send some Deputies of their own Body to the Pope, in order to inform his Holiness of the Reasons which had induced them to acknowledge his Majesty and swear Allegiance to him, and to beseech him to grant them what they thought might be conducive to the Good and Welfare of *Christendom* in general, and to the King and Kingdom in particular.

These Articles being drawn up, they waited upon his Majesty, and on the 4th of *August* they were signed by the King on one side, and on the other by the Prince of *Conti*, the Dukes of *Montpensier*, *Longueville*, *Piney*, *Montba-* VI.  
*The King*  
*accepts of*  
*them.*  
zon,

Henry IV. *zon*, the Marshals of *Biron* and *Aumont*, and  
 1589. several other Lords, Officers, and Ministers of  
*Pope Six-* State; and verified and registered the 14th of  
*tus V.* the same Month, in the Parliament of *Tours*.

Some of the Lords that were then present, tho' they heartily approved of what was done, nay, tho' they had been Advisers thereof, nevertheless they refused to subscribe, because they pretended to a Precedency above the Marshals, but whereas that Affair was transacted in a Camp, it was the Opinion of the Majority, that these last had a right to precede all Dukes and Peers, and that they ought to follow immediately after the Princes of the Blood on such Occasions; the Duke of *Espernon* was one of those who refused.

VII. This is summarily the genuine Account  
 D'Avila's which *Tbuanus* gives of that famous Transaction;  
 Mistake. *D'Avila* don't differ much from him, he says much the same as to the Essentials, tho' he is very wrong informed when he says, that *Du Plessis* opposed as much as he could the giving any satisfaction to the Catholicks. First, that Lord was at *Saumur* sick a-bed when these things were transacting. Secondly, far from being contrary to that Satisfaction, he advised his Majesty, by a Memoir which he sent from *Saumur* on the 10th of *August*; First to give the Catholicks a full Declaration concerning their Religion, whereby his Majesty shall promise to change nothing in the Roman Religion, and in the mean while, to procure by all good and lawful Means, and by the Advice of the Princes of the Blood, the Officers of his Crown, and other Persons well qualified, the Re-Union of all his Subjects. Secondly, to be cautious as to the Words which he shall make use of, speaking of his Reformed Subjects, for not offending

offending either of the Parties, the most proper Words seem to be these, *The Religion which we call Reformed, or called Reformed.* By another Article he says, that it is necessary to write to all the Reformed Churches in the Kingdom, and to the Governours of Places where the said Religion prevails, that they behave themselves more modestly than ever towards the Catholicks either in Deeds or Words, to repress the Sauciness of People, and to live in Peace and Union with the said Catholicks. Otherwise it is to be feared lest there should be great Commotions in some Places. By another he thinks, that the Regulations made for the Preservation of Churches, Relicks, &c. ought to be reiterated, and more exactly kept than ever. By another, It may be, says he, that his Majesty shall be intreated to restore the Mass at *Niort* and some other Places, that must be granted; but shall be a Precedent for granting the Reformed the Restoration of the free Exercise of their Religion in some other Places, &c. How then could *D'Avila* say that *Du Plessis* opposed the King in what he did? Let the Reader be Judge.

Henry IV.  
1589.  
Pope Six-  
tus V.

But my Wonder is, that the reverend Historian of the Edict of *Nantz* gives us quite a different Account of the Transactions of these three first Days, and of the Agreement concluded between the King and the Catholick Lords. He doth at first presuppose, that *Henry IV.* was not sincerely adhering to his Religion, and upon that ground he builds several Reflections upon that Prince's Character, pretending, *that those who had been brought up with him in his youth knew very well, that, Patience was none of his Favourite Virtues, and that he was not Proof against long Enterprizes,*

VIII.  
Mr. Benoit's  
wrong No-  
tion.

and

Henry IV. and consequently would be quickly weary of the  
 1589. Difficulties in conquering so many Places as beld  
 Pope Six- out for the League, and that if he could shorten  
 tus V. them by changing his Religion, that would be no  
 Baulk in his way. How could that Reverend  
 Author speak so of that Prince? How many  
 hard Tryals, and Temptations had he not been  
 Proof against, for about 13 Years together?  
 Had he not had it many times in his power to  
 shorten them, by renouncing his Religion?  
 And if it had not been, that Patience and For-  
 bearance were some of his favourite Virtues,  
 how could he have been a Proof for so many  
 Years against the Frownings and sour Temper  
 of his Censors? As to the Agreement, he says  
 that the Catholick Lords presented four Arti-  
 cles unto him. 1st, *That he should cause himself*  
*to be instructed in six Montbs.* Whereupon he  
 delivers his own Comment. 2d, *That the Ex-*  
*ercise of the Reformed Religion should be suspend-*  
*ed for that time.* 3d, *That he should grant no*  
*Office to any Reformed for those six Montbs.*  
 Whereupon he says, “ that the Catholicks de-  
 “ sired this, to secure those which were in pos-  
 “ session of them, from being turned out,”  
 (which, indeed is very true.) 4th, *That they*  
*should have permission to send to the Pope, to*  
*give him an Account of their Reasons for submit-*  
*ting to the King's Obedience.* And he con-  
 cludes, “ Altho’, it was very hard for the  
 “ King to buy a Crown so dear, that was le-  
 “ gally fallen to him, yet he consented to all  
 “ but the second Article.” Very right indeed,  
 had these Conditions ever been proposed to the  
 King, such as they are exhibited, by Mr. Be-  
 noist, and by Mezerey, of whom I suppose he  
 had borrowed them, for that Reverend Histo-  
 rian has not thought proper to quote his Au-  
 thorities

thories in the whole Course of his History, Henry IV.  
 only he gives a List of the Authors he has  
 made use of, at the head of each Volume in <sup>1589.</sup> Pope Six-  
 Quarto, and leaves it to the Reader to buy <sup>tus V.</sup>  
 them and consult them all from the beginning to  
 the end, if he has a mind to satisfy himself as to  
 the Veracity. But surely, *Tbuanus* ought to know  
 better what Terms were proposed to. and ac-  
 cepted by the King, than *Mezeray* who came  
 upon the Stage many Years after him; the first  
 was actually in the King's Service when that  
 Affair was transacted, and tho' absent upon his  
 Majesty's Predecessor's Business, he came back  
 soon enough to read them when they were fresh  
 registered at *Tours*. And *D'Avila* agreeing in  
 the most essential Parts of these Articles, with  
*Tbuanus*, there is no reason to doubt but that  
*Mezeray's* are spurious, and those which I have  
 transcribed out of *Tbuanus* genuine. There re-  
 mains *D'Aubigné*, who was of the King's House-  
 hold when that Agreement was made; he re-  
 lates a Speech made to the King by *d'O*, Super-  
 intendant of the Exchequer, in the Name of  
 the Catholick Lords: But tho' he was bold  
 even to Impudence, threatening his Majesty if  
 he refused to renounce his Religion without  
 delay, not a Word of these pretended Condi-  
 tions, and far from requiring the King to sus-  
 pend the Exercise of the Reformed Religion  
 for six Months, he insinuates to his Majesty  
 that if the Reformed of that Time were like to  
 their Fathers, it would be an easy Matter to  
 satisfy them by giving them their BELLY-FULL  
 of Sermons; but if they did carry their Ambi-  
 tion any further, it will not be a very hard  
 Task to cure them of their Distemper when his  
 Majesty shall be reconciled to his Kingdom. Ne-  
 vertheless, since *Tbuanus*, nor even *D'Avila*  
 say



Henry IV. say not a word of that Speech of D'O, I would  
 1589. not rely too much upon D'Aubigné's single  
 Pope Six- Testimony.  
 tus V.

Now granting that *Ibuanus* and *D'Avila* have transmitted unto us the genuine Terms of the abovesaid Agreement, I refer to the impartial and equitable Reader to judge whether there is any thing in the Conditions of the Agreement which was not quite natural for the Catholick Party to ask, any thing dishonourable to the King's Majesty; any thing unreasonable for him to grant? The Lords of *Plessis Mornay*, *La Nouë*, *Viscount of Turenne*, and several others great supporters of the Reformed Party had no such Notion, they were thoroughly persuaded that in the present Circumstances, the King ought not to be too stiff, but rather to endeavour to appease their Fears and give them all reasonable Securities as to their Religion: This is very plain by these Articles of *Du Plessis*' Memoirs abovementioned, they were very sensible that it was impossible for his Majesty ever to be acknowledged by the Catholick Party upon any other account soever.


But let us bring the Matter more home, let us suppose for a Minute that the Reformed Church was the National Church of *France*, and that the King of *Navarre* was brought up in and professed the Catholick Religion; what would the Reformed have done upon such an Occasion? Would they have acknowledged his Title without providing for the Security of their Religion and for their own? and could they do less than to require the same Terms as the Catholics did? surely they would have required the same, or been very imprudent. It would be very impertinent to say that what is lawful for those who profess a true Religion is not for them who profess a false one, no Man  
 in

in the World will own that he professes knowingly a false Religion, contrariwise he holds his own for the best, and his Neighbour's for the wrong. Neither can it be said, that they did violence to the King's Conscience, when they intreated him to suffer himself to be instructed in a General or National Council, and to summon such a one in six Months Time if possible; for he had offered the same oftentimes of his own Accord; *Et volenti non fit injuria*: Besides that, had he been either Son, or Brother, or Uncle, or First Cousin to the deceased King, that Condition would have been too hard upon him; but he had not so near a Relation to the Crown, he was but in the tenth or eleventh Degree, his Title was disputable, and actually disputed by his Uncle the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who in such a Case might have been preferred before him, being a Degree nearer the Throne than himself. So that if every thing was duly considered, it will be found that the Catholick Lords did not exceed at all the Rules of Modesty in the Conditions they required from the King, such as they are recorded by *Thuanus*, and that the King could not do less for their satisfaction in the present Juncture, than to accept and subscribe them (b).

Henry IV.  
1589.  
Pope Sixtus V.

True it is that a few Weeks after, the Reformed had reason to complain of several Injustices done unto them even by the Parliament of *Tours*, and that their Condition became worse than it had been during the four or five last Months of the late King's Reign; but it was none

(b) Read *Thuanus* *ibid.* D'Avila *Liv. x.* p. 52—55. D'Aubigné *Tom. III.* *Liv. ii.* ch. 24. *Vie de Du Plessis Mornay*, *Liv. I.* p. 137, 138. *Mem. de Du Plessis Mornay*, *Tom. II.* p. 1—20. *Benoit Hist. of the Edict of Nantz*, done into *English* by *Cooke*, *Tom. I.* Book ii. p. 54—60.

Henry IV. none of the King's fault, his Orders were still  
 1589. but little regarded, as it appears by *Du Plessis's*  
*Pope Six-* Letters to the President *D'Espeffes*. One must  
 tus V.  not judge of that Prince's Affection to the Re-  
 formed by what happened before he was settled  
 upon his Throne, and his Authority fully ac-  
 knowledged, but by what he did for them when  
 he was really in a Condition to do them good.  
 I have thought proper to say so much in Vindi-  
 cation of that first Step which *Henry IV.* took  
 at his Accession to the Crown of *France*.

IX. Under several frivolous Pretences the Duke  
*Espernon* of *Espernon* left the Camp, and brought along  
*leaves the* with him most part of the Troops, however he  
*Army.* gave the King his word that he would never  
 adhere to the Leaguers, nor take Party against  
 him, but rather do him all the Service he  
 could in his own Government: and indeed  
 he was as good as his word. His Example was  
 followed by several others; some there were  
 even that took party with the League. The  
 King of *Navarre* had been proclaimed King of  
*France* immediately after his Predecessor's  
 Death by his own Army composed mostly of  
 Reformed; nevertheless, a few Officers thereof  
 for want of Pay left the Camp for a little time,  
 with his Majesty's Licence, and went home in  
 order to make some Provisions.

X. While these Things were a doing in the  
*What pas-* Camp, the *Parisians* ran almost mad for joy  
*sed at Paris* when they heard of the King's Death, the  
*at this* Duchess Dowager of *Montpensier* distributed a-  
*Time.* mongst them a great number of green Scarves;  
 nothing was to be seen in the Streets, but Feast-  
 ings and Dancings, and such other Demonstra-  
 tions of Joy; *James Clement* the Villain Assas-  
 sin of *Henry III.* was without Delay sainted,  
 Prayers were put up to him, his Images and  
 Statues

Statues at full Length were worshipped, his <sup>Henry IV.</sup> Mother and some others of his Relations that <sup>1589.</sup> came at that Time to *Paris* were enriched by <sup>Pope Sixtus V.</sup> the free Gifts they received of People of all Ranks.

In the mean while the Duke of *Mayenne* un- <sup>XI.</sup> derstanding that that Parricide had been killed <sup>The Duke of Mayenne's</sup> upon the spot, caused many Persons of all Ranks who had been arrested Prisoners the <sup>Measures.</sup> Day before that Villain had perpetrated the Crime, to be released ; (*which was a clear Indication that the Leaguers were privy to CLEMENT's Plot, since they had been so careful as to provide for his Safety, to make him escape the dreadful Punishment he would deservedly have undergone had he survived his Crime.*) Then he wrote to the Cities and Governours of Provinces, to acquaint them of what had happened by a special Benefit of God Almighty, as he said ; and exhorted them not to shew themselves ungrateful, but rather to exert themselves more and more for the Advancement of Religion ; that heretofore they had had to deal with secret Enemies of God, but now with open ; that they ought not to question but that King *Philip*, who had heretofore supported the CAUSE, tho' underhand, would now undertake openly the Defence thereof, and spare nothing in order to have it victorious, being no longer restrained by any Scruple, &c. He wrote likewise to King *Philip*, whom he basely stiled the DEFENDER OF THE TRUE RELIGION, and ITS SUREST SUPPORT, he besought him with all Humility to make use of that immense Power which he had so deservedly received of God for rooting out intirely the Venom of Heresy, whereby the Kingdom, formerly so flourishing, was infected for so many

Henry IV. many Years; that all true Catholicks in *France*  
 1589. had their Eyes fixed upon him, waiting for his  
*Pope Six-* Assistance to be delivered from the threatening  
*tus V.* Danger.

*He pro-* Several of his Friends and Adherents advised  
*claims* him to take possession of the Throne for him-  
*Cardinal* self, but the wisest deterred him from it, set-  
*of Bour-* ting forth in a very lively manner, the many  
*bon King* insuperable Inconveniencies and Difficulties  
*of France.* wherewith such an Attempt would be attended,  
 and persuaded him to cause Cardinal of *Bourbon*  
 to be proclaimed King of *France*, which Ad-  
 vice prevailed in his Council, as the safest, and  
 the most honourable for himself, seeing that as  
 that Prince was detained close Prisoner, he  
 would have but the bare Name of a King, and  
 the whole Authority would remain in his own  
 hands. Accordingly the Cardinal was pro-  
 claimed King with all the usual Formalities, so  
 far as the Times would allow, under the Name  
 of *Charles X.*

Before that, the King had endeavoured to  
 bring *Mayenne* into his Interest, by very large  
 Offers which were made to him, for which  
 purpose he had sent *Marsilleres* to confer with  
*Villeroy*; but the Duke was stiff in his Resolu-  
 tion, and answered, that tho' he had a great  
 Value and Respect for the King of *Navarre*,  
 nevertheless he would never hearken to any  
 Proposition unless the Cardinal of *Bourbon* should  
 be set at liberty, and the said King turned  
 Catholick.

On the 7th of *August* he published an Edict  
 in his own Name as Lieutenant-General of the  
 State and Crown of *France*, and of the Coun-  
 cil of Union settled at *Paris*, whereby he ad-  
 vises, exhorts, and desires all Princes, Lords, and  
 others, either of the Nobility or of the Clergy,  
 to

to pay to their own Catholick King, the Allegiance due to their lawful and natural Prince, to join their Forces together for his Assistance, and to oblige themselves by publick Instruments before their Governours or Magistrates, that they would live and die in the Roman Religion, and endeavour to the best of their power to procure its Advancement, and not to assist the Sectaries in any manner soever, &c. He wrote two Days after to the Governours of Provinces in the same Strain (c).

Henry IV.  
1589.  
Pope Sixtus V.

Marshal of *Matignon* Governor of *Bordeaux* XII. had kept till then that City in awe, but after the King's Death knowing that the Parliament stood ill affected to his Successor, on account of his Religion, and rightly judging that it was not proper to use Force in the present Juncture, he cunningly engaged the Parliament to honour the late King's Memory, by a Decree which they published, whereby they declared, that having been fully informed of the lamentable Death of the King, they, at the Request of the Attorney-General, and by the Advice of Marshal *Matignon*, exhorted the Archbishops, Bishops and Curates of their Jurisdiction to put up Prayers for his late Majesty, for the Tranquillity of the Kingdom and the Welfare of the Roman Catholick Church, and commanded the Governours, Magistrates and Consuls of the Cities to watch carefully, lest any Disturbance should happen either in the Civil or Ecclesiastick; to observe the Edicts published in *July* and *October* last Year, and the Decrees of *December* and *April* last, ordering the Nobility, Gentry, Officers, &c. who had taken Arms against the late King to lay them down, and retire quickly to their own Habitations,

Proceedings of  
Marshal  
de Matignon  
at  
Bordeaux

(c) Thuan. lib. xcvi. p. 11. D'Avila liv. x. p. 58, 59.  
VOL. IV. C living

Henry IV. living there according to the Edicts and Decrees above said, till God in his Mercy shall be pleased to restore every thing in the Church and State, &c. done the 19th of *August*. But it was impossible for the said Marshal to have the present King mentioned in the Decree; however he made a good use of this, such as it was, for keeping the Province of *Guienne* in the Bounds of Duty, few Places excepted, where the League prevailed (*d*).

1589.  
Pope Six-  
tus V.

The Parliament of *Tholouse* exceeded all bounds of Moderation, by the Decree which they published the 22d of *August*, which runs as follows.

XIII.  
Decree of  
the Par-  
liament of  
Tho-  
louze.

The Court, all the Chambers thereof being assembled, being informed of the wonderful and dreadful Death of *Henry III.* happened on the 1st of this Month (*it was the second*) has enjoined, and enjoins again by these Presents, unto all Princes, Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, Officers and others, of what Rank and Quality soever, to unite themselves again for the Conservation of the holy Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion, the Rest and Welfare of Catholick Princes, Lords, Cities, and Commonalties leagued together for the Defence thereof: Has exhorted and does exhort all Bishops and Pastors of the Dioceses of this District, to make publick Thanksgiving to God, every one in his own Church for the Blessing of the Deliverance of the City of *Paris* and other Cities of this Kingdom: Has ordained, and doth ordain, that every Year on the 1st of *August*, Processions shall be made, and publick Prayers put up to God, for an Acknowledgment of the Blessings conferred upon us on that Day: Has forbidden and does forbid most expressly to all

Persons



Persons of what Rank, Quality and Condition soever, without any Exception, to acknowledge for King; *Henry of Bourbon*, pretended King of *Navarre*, to favour him; to afford him any Assistance soever on pain of Death, as Hereticks and Disturbers of the publick Peace: And the said Court enjoins unto all the said Bishops and Pastors, to cause the Bull of our most Holy Father Pope *Sixtus V.* justly published against the said *Henry of Bourbon*, to be read again; kept and observed punctually; in virtue and by the Authority whereof, the said Court of the Parliament has declared, and does declare him incapable ever to succeed to the Crown of *France*, on account of the manifold and notorious Crimes fully specified therein. Injoins all Bailiffs, Provosts and Seneschals of this Jurisdiction; to cause the Contents of the present Decree to be published, kept and observed punctually; on pain of being punished and chastised as Abettors of Hereticks. Who will not wonder at the impudent Madness of those *Gascons!* (e)

Now the most Christian King; seeing that XIV. there were so many disaffected Persons in his *The King* Army, and that their Number increased every *raises the* Day through the Seductions of the Leaguers *Siege of* *Paris.* Emissaries that came from *Paris* to the Camp, having called together all the Officers, he spoke to them in a way suitable to his Dignity, and having upbraided them for their Disloyalty, and told them with Scorn that he had no need of their Services, and that they might go away whenever they pleased (f). However: lest that Evil should make further Progress, it was

C 2

thought

(e) Idem. ibid. *Memoirs de la Ligue*, Tom. IV. page 51, 52.

(f) Thuan. Ibid.

Henry IV. thought proper to raise the Siege, and in order  
 1589. to do it with less Dishonour, the King took  
 Pope Six- the plausible Pretence of accompanying the  
 tus V. Corps of his Predecessor (g).

*He marches  
 to Com-  
 piegne.*

Accordingly on the 5th of *August* he march-  
 ed with the whole Army, reduced to little less  
 than the half of what it was at the beginning of  
 the Siege, and went to *Compiègne*, where the  
 Corpse was deposited in *St. Corneille's* Church ;  
 in his way thither he took *Meulans*, *Gisors*,  
 and *Clermont* in *Beauvaisis*.

*He divides  
 his Army.*

At *Compiègne* he held a Council of War, to  
 consider what was to be done ; and it was re-  
 solved, the Enemy appearing no where, to di-  
 vide the Troops, part whereof composed mostly  
 of the Nobility and Gentry of *Picardy*, marched  
 into that Province under the Command of the  
 Duke of *Longueville* Governor thereof ; another  
 part composed mostly of the Nobility and Gentry  
 of *Champain*, went into that Province under the  
 Command of Marshal *d'Aumont*, and the other  
 part remained with the King. Nothing could  
 be more prudently done than that Repartition,  
 for that Army could not have subsisted together  
 easily, for want of Money and other Necessa-  
 ries ; had they been sent into some other Pro-  
 vinces, the Nobility and Gentry would have  
 had a just Pretence to take their leave and re-  
 pair every one to his own Habitation, to take  
 care of their Families, especially in that season of  
 the Year ; but being sent into their own Pro-  
 vinces under a Chief, it was almost the same  
 as if they had been in a Camp. He enjoined  
 these two Generals to assist one another if they  
 were

(g) Idem ibid. But he says that he was afraid lest the  
*Parisians*, who had so little regard for him when alive,  
 would satiate their Rage upon his Corpse. *Mem. de la  
 Ligue*, Tom. IV. p. 55.

were attacked. His Majesty kept with himself Henry IV. the third and best Part of the Army, with the Prince of *Conty*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, the <sup>1589.</sup> *Pope Sixtus V.* *Great Prior of France*, Colonel of the Light Horse, Marshal of *Biron*, the Lord *Charles Damville* Son to the Marshal of *Montmorancy*, *De Rieux*, *Chatillon*, several Lords of his Council, Captains and other Persons of Distinction. His Army was composed of above a thousand Horse, two Regiments of *Switzers*, and about 3000 *French Foot*.

With these Forces he marched into *Norman-* XV. *dy*, having two Ends in view, *viz.* to encourage and strengthen his Party in that Province; and to draw out, if possible, part of the Forces of the Enemy, that being divided they should be less able to attempt any thing upon the Places which he had lately taken, such as *Estampes*, *Pontoise*, *Meulans*, *Senlis* and others near *Paris*, and give time to the Inhabitants thereof to repair the Breaches and fortify themselves the best they could. He succeeded in both as well as he could expect, for being arrived at *St. Peter's Bridge*, Captain *Roulet* Commander of *Pont de l'Arche* brought him the Keys of the Place, and assured him of the Obedience and Fealty of the Inhabitants, as well as of his own; he was confirmed in his Government, that Place was a great Annoyance to *Rouën*, being only five small Leagues distant, and stopt the Correspondence between that City and *Paris*. From *St. Peters* his Majesty marched to *Dernetal* a League distant from *Rouën*, to refresh his Army; the next Day he set out on a sudden with only 3 or 400 Horse, and came to *Dieppe*, which stood well affected to his Party. He was received there with all the Demonstrations of Joy and Respect possible, being encouraged

Henry IV. to it by *La Chaste* their own Governour; there  
 1589. he received the Submissions and Assurances of  
*Pope Sixtus V.* Loyalty of *Verune* Governour of *Caën* in his  
 own and the City's Name.

XVI. One Thing perplexed the King at this Time,  
*Cardinal of Bour-* to wit his Uncle the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, tho'  
*bon is transferr'd* he was guarded at *Chinon* under the Care of  
*to Fontenay.* the Lord *Chavigny* who had been intrusted  
 with him by the late King, tho' his Majesty  
 was well satisfied as to that Gentleman's Ho-  
 nesty and Fidelity; but he was very old and  
 blind, and his Lady was not of proof against  
 a round Sum of Money; he knew that she had  
 been tryed that way by the Leaguers, espe-  
 cially since they had proclaimed the said Car-  
 dinal King of *France*, to engage her to deli-  
 ver him into their hands. These Things caused  
 great Anxieties to the King, there was but one  
 Way to be rid of them, which indeed he took,  
 and *Du Plessis* treated by his Orders with the  
 Lady *Chavigny* with such Success, that her  
 Husband delivered that Prince, with her Con-  
 sent into his Hands, for 22000 Crowns, he  
 carried him in his Litter to *Loudun*, being at-  
 tended by 3 or 400 Horse, and delivered him  
 to the Lord *La Boulaye* who brought him to  
*Fontenay*, whereof he was Governour, where  
 he died a few Months after (b).

XVII. While the King was at *Dieppe*, the Inhabi-  
*The King* tants proposed to him the Siege of *Rouën*, and  
*seigns to* offered to bear the greatest part of the Expence  
*besiege* necessary for such an Expedition. His Ma-  
*Rouen.* jesty was exceedingly pleased with the Propo-  
 sition, for tho' he knew very well that his  
 Forces would not be sufficient for succeeding  
 therein, nevertheless he did not question but  
 by such an Attempt he would oblige the Duke  
 of

(b) Vie de Du Plessis, Liv. i. p. 139, 140, 141.

of *Mayenne* to take the Field for the Relief of Henry I the Place; however, he thought proper to propose that Expedition in a Council of War, <sup>1589.</sup> *Pope Sixtus V.* whereat assisted the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Marshal of *Biron* and other Lords and Captains: there he proposed the Siege of *Rouën*, and pretended to be bent upon that Expedition; his Craft had the desired Success, his chief Confidants believed that he was in earnest, it was suddenly rumour'd in his Army that that Siege was resolved on. For five or six days together he acted just as if it was really his Design to attack that Place, he deprived the Inhabitants of all their Mills, his Troops skirmished by Divisions with the Enemy to the very Gates of the City, in order to oblige the Inhabitants to call the Duke of *Mayenne* to their Assistance; and in this respect happened what he had foreseen, the Citizens frightned out of their Wits, tho' the Duke of *Aumale* and the Count of *Brisac* were in the City, with a strong Garison of Horse and Foot to defend them, yet they were not satisfied till they were certain that the Duke of *Mayenne* was in full March with his whole Army coming to their Relief.

The King had expected that this Step of his would oblige *Mayenne* to weaken his Forces by sending only the best Part thereof to the Relief of *Rouën*, but when he heard that he was marching with the whole, and that he had been reinforced with the Troops of *Lorrain*, those of *Balagny* Prince and Governour of *Cambray*, and those sent by the Duke of *Parma* Governor of the *Low Countries*, so that he was above 30000 Men Horse and Foot strong, his Majesty was at a stand; but being never wanting to himself, he assembled his Council, and declared unto them what had been his real Design in at-

Henry IV. tacking *Rouën*. So it was resolved to retreat, and to put off that Siege for another Time.

1589.  
Pope Six-  
tus V.

Accordingly he marched with his Army from *Dernetal*; in his way he received the Town of *Eu* by Composition, and understanding that the Duke of *Mayenne* with his whole Force had already crossed the *Seine*, he sent Orders to the Duke of *Longueville* and Marshal of *Aumont*, to come and join him with their Forces in all haste: then he resolved to go to *Arques*, not far from *Dieppe*, where his Enemies afforded him a fair Opportunity of displaying his Fortitude and Magnanimity, for by his Prudence and Resolution, under the Blessing of God, with a handful of Men, he not only rendered abortive all the Efforts of that great Army, but forced them to a shameful Retreat, having lost about a thousand Men in the several Engagements, several Cannons, part of their Baggage, and left many Prisoners of War; the Loss on the King's side was but inconsiderable, very few Persons of Note either killed or wounded, or taken Prisoners by the treacherous *Lansquenets* (*German Foot*,) who, under a false shew of Surrender to the victorious King, and of a Willingness to serve under him, turned suddenly their Arms against him, were with Difficulty dislodged from the Retrenchments, and carried away three of the King's Standards, with some Prisoners (j.)

He march-  
es to Ar-  
ques.

Mayenne's  
Army  
worsted.

XVIII.  
The King  
marches  
towards  
Paris.

His Majesty having stay'd in *Low Normandy* about two Months and a half, trying in vain every way to provoke the Enemy to come to a decisive Battle, and having received 4000 *English* sent to him by Queen *Elizabeth*, who landed at *Dieppe*, with a good Sum of Money, and

(j) Thuan. lib. xcvi. p. 12—16. Mem. de la Ligue Toip. IV. p. 53—79.

and a Quantity of Ammunition, which the Earl Henry IV. of *Stafford* brought into the Camp; marched out of *Dieppe*, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *October*, having been joined before by the Forces which the Count of *Soissons*, the Duke of *Longueville*, and the Marshal of *Aumont* led to his Relief, retook the Town of *Eu*, and took the Castle of *Gamache* in the Enemy's sight. And understanding that *Mayenne* was going to the Frontiers to treat with the Duke of *Parma*, for delivering unto him some Places in *Picardy* in hostage, in order to deter him from so pernicious a Design, he resolved to attack *Paris*. Accordingly he crossed the *Seine* at *Meulans*, and having divided his Army in three Parts, the Suburbs of *St. Victor*, *St. Marceau*, *St. James*, *St. Michel*, *St. Germain*, the Gates of *Bussy* and *Nigelles*, were carried by Storm in an Hour's time on the 1<sup>st</sup> of *November*; the assailed lost near 1300 Men in that Attack, killed on the Spot, besides a great number of Prisoners, amongst whom was found Father *Edmund Burgoin* Prior of the *Dominican Fryars* clad in Armour, who was convicted of having applauded in his Sermons the Regicide perpetrated by *James Clement*. (He was carried to *Tours*, tryed there by the *Parliament*, condemned and executed.) The *Parisians* were so much frightened, that the King would have been Master of the City at that time, had his Orders been executed, and the Cannon been levelled against the Gates before they had retrenched themselves, but for want of proper Diligence, the Inhabitants had time enough to recover from their Fright, and *Thoré* who was at *Senlis* sick a-bed, not having been able to oppose the Duke of *Mayenne's* Passage over the *Oyse*, that Prince, who at the first notice he had had of the King's Design, was come by long

1589.  
Pope Six-  
tus V.

And storms  
the Sub-  
urbs  
thereof.



Henry IV. long Marches to relieve the City, entered into it by another side which was not guarded; the next Day after the taking of the said Suburbs.

1589.  
Pope Six-  
tus V.

The Plunder was given to the Soldiers, however, with strict Orders to spare the Churches; they carried away fourteen Ensigns, and thirteen Cannon.

He de-  
camps.

The King seeing that he could not take the City without ruining it, which he was unwilling to do, gave Orders for decamping, he drew up his Army in Battalia before the City waiting for the Enemy's coming out; but whereas no body appeared, he marched about Mid-day of the 3d of *November* to *Mont-le-bery*.

XIX. The Council of SIXTEEN and their Adherents at *Paris* revenged the Fright they had been put in, upon the Innocent; for by their Decree of the 20th of *November*, they order'd a new Search to be made in the Houses of those whom they suspected to be Hereticks or Politicians, and forfeited their Goods for indemnifying the Families of those who had been killed or plundered, and redeeming the Prisoners (i).

Great In-  
justice of  
the Lea-  
guers at  
Paris.

That Assault was so much the more choaking for the poor Fools of *Paris*, that they had been given to understand that the B E A R-  
N E S E had been taken Prisoner at *Arques*, and was to be carried loaded with Irons, his Hands tied behind his Back to serve for a shew at the Duke of *Mayenne's* publick Entry. Nay, the Dowager of *Montpensier*, was so zealous in promoting Falshoods, that in order to make the People believe that the Duke of *Mayenne* had got a compleat Victory over the King, she added eleven pair of Colours and six Cornets which were brought from the Arsenal to the three  
that

(i) Thuan. ibid. Mem. de la Ligue, ibid.

that had been taken by stealth by the *Lansquenets* Henry IV. as above said, and caused the Pulpits to resound 1589. with big Encomiums of *Mayenne*; whereby the Pope Sixtus V. People being seduced, a vast number of both Sexes hired Houses and Windows in all Places whereby they imagined the POOR BEAR-NESE was to pass, to see the Show (k).

From *Mont-le-bery* the King marched to XX. *Estampes*, where *Clermont de Lodeve* commanded The King for the League; at the first Assault he carried receives at the Suburbs, then the City which was forsook Estampes by the Garison, who retired into the Citadel. It the Queen appeared by intercepted Letters that the Duke Dowager's of *Mayenne* had promised *Clermont* to come to Petition. his Relief; the King was in hopes that he would be as good as his word, but after two Days of vain Expectation, *Clermont* was forced to surrender by Composition, he and seven others remained Prisoners of War, to be exchanged for eight Royalists which were in the Enemy's hands, nevertheless a few Days after that Gentleman and another were released upon their *Parole*; it was the third time that *Estampes* had been taken and retaken since the Month of *July*. While his Majesty stayed there, he received a Petition from the Queen Dowager *Louisa*, humbly praying for Justice against the late King her Husband's Murderers or their Abettors. The King answered very favourably, and referred the Petition to the Cognizance of the Parliament sitting at *Tours*, promising to bring the Guilty to a condign Punishment not only with the Forms of Law, but also with the Force of his Arms.

Now seeing the Enemy stood inactive every He divides his Army, where in those Parts, he divided his Troops, and marches towards the Part whereof he sent into *Picardy*, under the Command Loire.

(k) Thuan. lib. xcvi. p. 17, 18.

Henry IV. Command of the Duke of *Longueville* and *La*  
 1589. *Nouë* to keep that Province in awe. He sent  
 Pope Six- another into *Brie* under the Command of *An-*  
 tus V. *nas of Anglure* Lord of *Givri*; and marched

himself with the rest to the *Loire*, to settle the  
 Affairs of the Provinces laying upon the Banks  
 of that River; he took in his way *Janville*,  
 and arrived at *Chateaudun*, where he was met  
 by the Colonels of the *Switzers*, who after the  
 late King's Death had sent some of their Cap-  
 tains to their respective Cantons, to receive  
 their Instructions upon this Turn of Affairs.

XXI. They told his Majesty that their Principals  
*The Switz* were resolved to observe the Treaties made  
*Cantons* with his Predecessor, and had commanded that  
*promise* their Troops which were in his Army should  
*him then* continue in his Service; and that they desired  
*Assistance.* to renew with him the Treaties of Alliance for-  
 merly made with the Kings of *France* his Prede-  
 cessors of blessed Memory, which was readily  
 granted (1).

XXII. On the 14th of *November* the King marched  
*Vendome* out from *Chateaudun*, and being arrived at *Mel-*  
*stormed.* *lay*, he caused *Vendome* to be surrounded with  
 his Troops; the first Day the Suburbs were  
 carried. *Maillé Benebart* had been made Go-  
 vernour thereof by the King himself, but be-  
 traying his Master, he sided with the League,  
 and the Place having been forced, he and a  
*Franciscan Fryar* Trumpeter of Sedition and  
 Rebellion, received the Punishment they so  
 justly deserved, the Fryar was hanged, and  
 the Governor beheaded by the Marshal of *Bi-*  
*ron's* Orders. It is observable, that when the  
 said Governor was brought before *Biron* he be-  
 haved himself like a Coward, and was in such  
 a fright that he b——t himself, and with great  
 ado

(1) Thuan. ibid. p. 27.

ado could he be led to the Place of Execution. Henry IV. These few Instances of Severity had a very <sup>1589.</sup> great Influence over the neighbouring Towns, <sup>Pope Sixtus V.</sup> who surrendered themselves without waiting for the last Extremity (m).

Whereas *Mellay* is but twelve Leagues distant from *Tours*, he went thither and arrived very late in the Night ; he entered the City by the Light of Flambeaux, and was received with the loudest Acclamations of Joy, the Houses being illuminated, he spent the remaining part of the Night with his Cousin the Cardinal of *Vendosme*, and the Cardinal of *Lenoncour* ; the next Day he received the Compliments of the Parliament, and those of *Mocenigo*, Ambassador of *Venice*. XXIII. *The King comes to Tours.*

That Republick had been in a great Consternation when they heard the late King had been murdered ; nay, *Tbuanus*, who was then at *Venice*, says that the Indignation and Hatred against the *Dominican Fryars* was carried so far, that some young Noblemen having met in the Evening two of them wandering in the Streets, they fell upon them furiously, beat one unmercifully, and flung the other into the great Channel, where he was in Danger of being drowned. The next Morning the good Fathers brought their Complaints before the Senate, but the wise Senators told them, that it was very unbecoming their Profession, to be wandering through the Streets in the Night, instead of being intent upon their chief Business at home ; besides which, it was almost impossible in a free City, full of People of all Nations, to repress the Insults done at such Hours, and so they were dismissed with Scorn. XXIV. *The Republick of Venice acknowledges his Title.*

Their Sorrows were changed into Joy when they heard that the King of *Navarre* had been acknowledged

(m) Idem ibid. p. 30.

Henry IV. acknowledged as lawful Successor to the Crown, by the Princes, Lords, and Chief Officers of the Army, and had been proclaimed King of France by them and the whole Army, and they scrupled not to acknowledge him in the same Quality, notwithstanding the strong Oppositions of the *Emperor's*, *Spanish*, *Savoy* Embassadors, and of the *Pope's* Legate; this last threatened the Senate with the *Pope's* Censures if they scorned his Admonitions, and had any thing to do with the *Navarrese*; but he was answered, that, *whereas this was a Matter purely civil, they were in hopes that his Holiness would not take amiss what they did, that it concerned the Republick to keep a good Correspondence with the Crown of France, and seeing that the King of Navarre had been declared the next and lawful Heir thereof, and acknowledged as such even by the Cardinals themselves, who are Counsellors born to the Pope, they could do no less than follow their Example; that as to Religion, they did not meddle with it, it was the Pope's Business, and they earnestly entreated his Holiness to use his best Endeavours to have that Prince better instructed; finally, that if contrary to their Expectation, his Holiness, misconstruing their Proceeding, undertook to deal severely with them; and decree any thing unjust against them, they would be forced to disregard in good earnest those Censures, which they were falsely charged to scorn.* Accordingly they sent new Instructions to their Embassador at *Tours*, and Letters to the King to congratulate his Majesty upon his Accession to the Crown of *France*.

Tho' the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, and the Duke of *Mantua* could not declare themselves so openly as the Republick of *Venice*, nevertheless they agreed with *Hurault* Lord of *Massay*,  
French

French Ambassador, and *Thuanus*, to assist his Majesty under-hand with Money, and their Recommendations, and to promote his Interest in Italy, especially at the Court of Rome. *Montaigne* met with a very gracious Reception from the King, and now his Majesty was publickly acknowledged by Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* of Scotland, the Reformed Cantons of *Switzerland*, part of the others, most of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, the Republick of *Venice*, and under-hand by the most potent Princes of *Italy* (n).

While the King was victorious over his Enemies wherever he carried his Arms, the Spirit of Sedition and Rebellion raged in several Places where the League got the upper hand, especially at *Toulouse*. The Bishop of *Cominges*, who for his Crimes was become the Object of the Scorn and Hatred of every sober Man, provoked at a Decree of the Parliament of that City, whereby the Marshal of *Foyeuse* was acknowledged as Governor-General of *Toulouse* and of *Languedoc*, commanding every one of what Rank or Quality soever to obey his Orders, and forbidding to keep any Correspondence with *Spain*; provoked, I say, at this, being conscious of his Guilt, after having dissembled for a time, he entered the City on the 1st of *October*, and caused a Fryar to come up into the Pulpit, who preached the most seditious Sermon that could be heard, cursing the King and all those who had any thought of pacifying the Troubles of the Kingdom; then he came out clad in Armour and a naked Sword in his Hand, preceded by the said Friar, holding a Crucifix in one of his Hands and swinging a naked Sword with the other, and followed by four

(n) *Thuan.* *ibid.* p. 27, 28, 29, & 30.

Henry IV. four other Monks, and about fifty Men of the  
 1589. Dregs of the People; so running thro' the  
 Pope Sixtus V. City, the Bells ringing by his Orders in all the  
 Churches for alarming the People, and indu-  
 cing them to rise in Arms, causing a Rumour  
 to be spread that the Marshal of *Joyeuse* had  
 plotted with the *Huguenots* to introduce them  
 into the City, and abolish the Religion of their  
 Ancestors; this he had written in large Letters  
 upon a Paper which he held in his Hand lifted  
 up, that every one might read it. Being come  
 to the Town-House, the Fryar knocked at the  
 Gate with his Crucifix, and commanded to open  
 it. In the mean while *Joyeuse* with the Chiefs  
 of the City retired into *St. Stephen's* Church.  
 The next Day the Parliament met him at the  
 same Place, to consult together about the means  
 for appeasing that Sedition. The Bishop in-  
 formed of this, assembled his Adherents in the  
 Church of *La Dalbade*, and with about 600  
 armed Men, the Bell ringing every where, he  
 marched to *St. Stephen's*, threatening to plunder  
 and burn the Houses of all those who were sus-  
 pected, if *Joyeuse* did not depart the City with-  
 out any delay. Those who were with that  
 Marshal were so frightened, that they advised  
 him to yield to the Violence, and retire from  
 the City for a time; the first President and some  
 eminent Counsellors and Citizens followed him.  
 Now the Seditious puffed up with that Ad-  
 vantage, the Fryar went on, and made with the  
 Bishop a Procession, being attended by several  
 Priests, and especially the Jesuits, and 200  
 Men of the Rascality, armed with Swords and  
 in Armour, the Fryar turning his Face on one  
 side, and on the other, said, *Now will there be  
 any who shall refuse to enlist themselves in this  
 Holy Militia? if there is any, I give you leave*



to go and kill him in his own House. After Henry IV. having wandered for a long while in the Streets, <sup>1589.</sup> some of them went to the Archbishop's Palace, <sup>Pope Sixtus V.</sup> where *Joyeuse* had lodged, and plundered it, sparing not the Houses of his Adherents; then they returned to the Bishop of *Cominge's* House, he sprinkled the Walls thereof, with what they call, Holy Water, he cursed the King. And gave thanks to God for that he had freed the City from the Plague of *Huguenots* and *Joyeuse's* Efforts. That Marshal provoked at so great an Injury, summoned the Nobility and Gentry of the Province to come to his Assistance, as the factious saw him fully resolved to chastise their Insolence, and being afraid lest the Royalists should take occasion of their Rebellion to increase their Forces in *Languedoc*, they sent some Deputies to him in the Parliament's Name, for treating of some Agreement. But the Marshal insisting that the Bishop (whom he stiled ANTICHRIST) with his Emissaries should be put into his hands, that he himself should be received in the City with a strong Garrison, that the President, Counsellors and others who had followed him, should be restored to their Goods and Dignities, these Terms were thought too hard by the Seditious, and the Affair was left dormant for a time (o).

A like Sedition happened at *Limoges*, Capital of the *Limosine*, at the Instigation of *Henry* <sup>Sedition at Limoges.</sup> *La Martoniere* Bishop of the City, but was happily suppressed by the Prudence of *Mery de Vic* Master of the Requests, and the Courage of the young Lord *De Levi* Count of *La Voute*, Governor of the Place. Some of the Ring-leaders being taken; were executed before the Governor's House; the Bishop with some of

(o) Thuan. Lib. xcviij. p. 20.



XXVII. Since the King's Accession to the Crown, the  
 Condition of the Reformed had been worse,  
 it seems, than under the four or five last  
 Months of the late King's Reign; they had  
 flattered themselves, that the Truce which  
 they had made with him would end in a solid  
 and lasting Peace, wherefrom they expected to  
 reap great Advantages for their Religion.  
 Now they saw themselves frustrated of their  
 Hopes, being ill used every where, and on pre-  
 tence, that the King had promised not to ad-  
 vance any of them to Places of Profit or Trust  
 for six Months time, except in the Cities or  
 Towns granted to them by the Truce or other  
 precedent Treaties, they were not only excluded  
 from any Advancement, but even deprived of  
 the Offices which they had enjoyed under the  
 late King, and had many other Wrongs to suf-  
 fer. Besides that, they had flattered themselves  
 that the present King would be stedfast in their  
 Religion, but instead of that, they saw him  
 carrying very high his Complaisance to the  
 Catholicks; and what increased their Fears and  
 Jealousies, was these Words, in the Declara-  
 tion published at his Accession to the Crown,  
*The late King, WHOM GOD ABSOLVE*, which  
 had been designedly let slip in the Copies; they  
 knew that it was the customary Language of  
 the

the Roman Church, when they spoke of *dead* Henry IV. *Persons*, and they took them as a Token of a Resolution already taken by the King to embrace the Doctrine of that Church, or at least as a Mark of little Zeal and Affection for the Reformed Religion. These Fears and Jealousies were industriously kept up by the Leaguers themselves, in order to alienate the Reformed from the King's Service, and to form, if possible, a new Party in the State. These unhappy Dispositions were sooner display'd in the Provinces of *Poitou* and *Saintonge*, than elsewhere; they held an Assembly at *St. John of Angely*, where under a Pretence that it was uncertain whether the King would persevere in his Religion, or no, they proposed to choose a new Protector. That Proposition was but a Consequence of those Intrigues which had caused so great Heats in the Assembly held at *Rochelle* the last Year, mentioned in our former Volume, when some restless Spirits complaining of the Authority which the King of *Navarre* ascribed to himself in the Management of Affairs, would have deprived him of that Power which his Character of Protector gave him, or at least limited it within the Compass of those rigorous Conditions framed at first at *Realmont*, then amplified at *Millaud*, and confirmed at *Nimes*. For they did not intend to impose a Master upon themselves when they chose a Protector, for which reason very likely, they would have chose rather to bestow that Title upon a Person whom they had a mind to honour, than upon a Prince who seeing no body but the King above himself, would think all other Titles inferiour to his own Dignity. *Henry III.* being dead, they had, it seems, more reason than ever to entertain these Thoughts


1589.  
Pope Six-  
tus V.

Henry IV. in their Minds, because his lawful Heir and  
 1589. Successor was thenceforward too great, not to  
*Popu Six-* adjudge the Title of *Protector* of the Reformed  
*tus V.* Churches as derogating from that of King of  
*France.* Another Reason of their Discontent  
 was the Talk of suppressing the Chambers of  
 Justice, to please the Parliaments; they had  
 been instituted formerly for the Security of the  
 Reformed, and they were mostly composed of  
 Reformed Members, who took cognizance of  
 all civil and criminal Affairs wherein the Re-  
 formed were concerned instead of which, Cham-  
 bers, Judges Royal were to be appointed;  
 which Resolution indeed took place the next  
 Year, to the great detriment of that Party. Be-  
 sides that, *Mass* had been already restored in  
 several Places contrary to the plain meaning of  
 the Articles of the Truce. In a word, they  
 gave out that the King valued not the *Protec-*  
*torship*, seeing that he had done nothing for  
 them since his Accession to the Crown, and  
 very likely they would have carried things to  
 extremes, had they been able to bring over the  
 Reformed of other Provinces to their Measures.

The King was not a little perplexed when he  
 was thoroughly informed of what they were  
 transacting at *St. John*, he complained bitterly  
 thereof, in a long Letter written with his own  
 Hand to *Du Plessis Mornay*, dated at his Camp  
 before *Estampes* on the 7th of *November*; he  
 charged therein some hot-headed Men, which  
 he pretended not to know, with endeavouring  
 to advance their own private Interest under a  
 shew of a pretended Zeal for Religion and the  
 Security of the Churches; he reminded them of  
 some sly Practices at the last Assembly at *Ro-*  
*chelle*, which had been as it were the Seeds of  
 this new Attempt; he related what had passed  
 between him and the Officers of the late King, in  
 order

order to remove the Scruples of Religion, that Henry IV. hindered them from declaring for his Service, wherein he affirmed he had done nothing but with the Advice and Consent of *Châtillon, La Nouë, Beauvais, La Nocle, Guitry*, and other Lords and Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion, that were then present; he assured them that he had with his own Hand blotted out of the Original of the Declaration he had signed to the Catholicks, these Words, *whom God absolve*, and it was none of his Fault if the Transcriber or the Printer had inserted them again in the printed Copies. He ascribed their Complaints to the Suggestions of some Mutineers, adding that they who boasted so much of having exposed their Lives, and their Fortunes for him, were now the very Men that endeavoured to divest him of that Title which they had conferred upon him; he assured them of his Constancy as to Religion, excusing what he had done by the Necessity of Times which obliged him to do many things in order to lessen the Jealousies and Fears, which the Catholicks had conceived on his account; he complained modestly of the Desertion of many Reformed; he ended his Letter with a sharp Reproof against those, who thro' their Impatience went about to rob him of his Reformed Subjects, who ought to be his by a double Acquisition, whom he tender'd with a paternal Love, and whose Preservation could not possibly be so dear to any other Person as to himself.

That Letter, so tempered with Complaints, Excuses, Protestations and Expressions of a tender Love and Affection, helped much together with *Du Plessis'* strong Arguments, for repressing the Impetuosity of the Male-

Henay IV. contents, and the Reformed became thereby  
 1589. more easy, and endured more patiently the te-  
 Pope Six- dious Delays of the Court. It is certain that  
 tus V.  the King being not as yet settled upon his  
 Throne was not at all in a Condition to do now  
 for his Reformed Subjects what he did after-  
 wards, when his Title and Authority were fully  
 acknowledged throughout his Kingdom. Nay,  
 he could do less for them at this present Junc-  
 ture, than when he was but King of *Navarre* (q).

XXVIII. During these Transactions Cardinal *Cajetan*,  
*The Pope's* the Pope's Legate arrived in *France*; tho' the  
*Legate* Pope had been desired by the Duke of *Piney*  
*arrives in* not to send his Legate till he was himself arrived  
*France.* at *Rome*, where he was to go without delay in  
 the Name of the Catholick Nobility, as above-  
 said, to inform his Holiness of the Reasons  
 which had moved them to acknowledge the  
 King, tho' he had at first granted their Request;  
 nevertheless, yielding to the Importunities of  
 the Leaguers, he gave leave to the said Cardinal  
 to set out. The Pope had named him as the fit-  
 test Man as he thought for that Legation, tak-  
 ing him to be a moderate and impartial Man;  
 but he was much deceived in his Expectation:  
 far from acting the part of a Mediator, and of  
 endeavouring to reconcile the two Parties to-  
 gether, *Cajetan* became as great a Leaguer as  
 any Man in *France*. When he was arrived at  
*Lyons*, the Duke of *Nevers*, who had remain-  
 ed neuter, invited him to come to *Nevers*, that  
 he might confer with him and inform him of  
 the true Situation of Affairs. But at the In-  
 stigation of his bad Counsellors he refused that  
 Offer, and went to *Dijon*, from whence he pro-  
 ceeded to *Paris*, where he made his publick En-  
 try in *January* following. His Credentials were  
 read

read in Parliament on the 26th of that Month; Henry IV and the 6th of *February* he came himself to the Parliament with great Pomp, and carried his Audaciousness so far as to attempt to sit upon the King's Throne; but the first President *Brissson* took him by the Sleeve, and obliged him to take his place below himself. In a word, he shew'd himself so partial for the King of *Spain*, he had so little regard for the Instructions the Pope had charged him with, that his Master was extremely offended at his Carriage, especially when he had been thoroughly informed by the Duke of *Piney* how matters stood in *France*; he reprov'd him sharply by his Letters, for not having conferred with the Cardinals of *Vendome* and *Lenoncour* who were of the King's Party, and for shewing himself so unjustly partial, and very likely it would have fared much worse with him, had not *Sixtus* died a little after (r).

1589.  
Pope Sixtus V.

The King stay'd but two Days at *Tours*, he came to his Army which was besieging *Le Mans*, *Laval* of *Bois Dauphine* who command- ed therein made but little Resistance, tho' he had with him above 1500 Men, the Place was surrendered by Composition on the 2d of *December*. In a word, the League could preserve nothing else in the Provinces of *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Touraine*, but the Town of *La Ferté-Bernard*, which the King did not think proper to attack, because it was very important for him to employ his Forces in *Normandy* to reduce that Province; he received *Alençon* by Capitulation, *Falaise* was carried by storm on the 8th of *January*, the Count of *Brissac* who commanded therein was taken Prisoner of War. *Verneuil* capitulated, *Argentan*, *Domfront*, *Lisieux*.

XXIX.  
The King's Progress.

1590.

D 4

(r) Thuan. Lib. xcvi. p. 25, 32. Lib. xcvi. p. 44, 46, 62.

Henry IV. *Lisieux, Bayeux, Honfleur, Pont Audemar,*  
 1590. either capitulated, or surrendered themselves  
 Pope Six- without waiting for a Siege. The Country of  
 tus V. *Perche* surrendered to the Count of *Soissons*;  
 such were the Successes wherewith his Majesty's  
 Arms were attended in *January*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* had taken the Field,  
 and after six days Siege he took *Pontoise*; then  
 he besieged *Meulans*, but was forced to raise  
 the Siege by the King who made a Diversion,  
 and attacked *Poissy*, which he took by storm;  
 the Duke of *Aumale* was killed, *Mayenne* lost  
 most part of his Baggage and of his Ammuni-  
 tion, having been pursued by those of *Meulan*  
 who fell furiously upon his Rear. Then he  
 besieged again the same Place, but with no  
 better Success.

XXX.  
*His Poli-  
 ticks.*

*The Sor-  
 bonne's  
 Proceed-  
 ings a-  
 gainst him.*

Now because the King published every  
 where that he required a Conference of Di-  
 vines wherein he might be better instructed,  
 that Step cooled apace the Zeal of several Lea-  
 guers, nay, some Preachers went so far as to  
 speak in his behalf. For preventing the Ef-  
 fects wherewith such Discourses might be at-  
 tended, the SORBONNE published a Decree on  
 the 10th of *February*, whereby they condemn-  
 ed the following Propositions, *That it was law-  
 ful to agree with the BERNESSE; to acknow-  
 ledge him if he would turn Catholick; and to  
 pay unto him Taxes and Subsidies.* The Legate  
 wrote likewise a circular Letter dated the 1st of  
*March*, to all the Bishops, forbidding them to  
 meet at any Place for that purpose, (*the King's  
 Instruction*) moreover he obliged the Provost of  
 the Merchants, the Sheriffs, Quarters, Tith-  
 ing-Men and Captains of the Wards to renew  
 the Oath to persevere in the Holy Union to  
 the latter End of their Lives.

The

The *Spanish* Embassador, who had proposed in *Novembr* last to acknowledge his Master as Protector of the holy Union and of the Kingdom of *France*, and been put by for that time, did not desist, but renewed the same Proposition with no better Success. He offered a powerful Succour to the Duke of *Mayenne*; but that Prince, who would readily have accepted of it at the Beginning, dreading now the Consequences thereof, let the Embassador know that five or six thousand Men were sufficient for the present, and that he would be glad to have the rest in Money.

Henry IV.  
1590.  
Pope Sixtus V.  
XXXI.  
Spain's  
Endea-  
vours to  
obstruct the  
King.

While their Agents were debating upon that Point, the said *Duke* went to meet the Duke of *Parma*, who granted him two thousand Horse under the Command of the Count of *Egmont*, a young Lord who began to appear in the World with some Reputation, but who was still more rash than valiant.

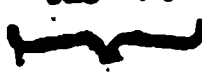
With that Reinforcement having no less than 4000 Horse, and 10000 Foot, *Mayenne* marched to relieve *Dreux* which was besieged by the King; but his Majesty being informed of his March, raised the Siege, and marched with his whole Army, (much inferiour to *Mayenne's* as to the Number, but much superiour as to Courage and Experience.) The two Armies were in sight of one another by the 13th of *March*, in the Plain of *Yvri*, and on the 14th in the Morning the Battle began.

XXXII.  
Battle of  
Yvri.

We find in the Historians a full Description of the Field of Battle, in what Order the two Armies were disposed, the several Charges of Battalions and Squadrons of the two Parties, the Errors committed by the Chiefs of the League. So that we shall give a short account only of what concerns the King personally.

His



Henry IV. His rare Understanding, his extraordinary  
 1590. Genius, his indefatigable Activity were ad-  
 Pope Six-  
 tus V. mired by the most experienced Officers; he  
 gave his Orders and disposed of every thing  
 with the same Calmness, as if he had been in his  
 Closet; he drew up his Troops perfectly well,  
 and having known the Design of the Enemy, he  
 altered his Scheme in a quarter of an hour,  
 without the least Confusion; during the Battle  
 he was every where, took notice of every  
 thing, and gave his Orders accordingly, as if  
 he had been an *Argus* or a *Briareus*; the  
 Noise, Hindrances, Dust, and Smoke, far from  
 clogging him, rather raised his Spirits, enlighten-  
 ed his Understanding, and enlivened all his  
 Motions.

The two Armies being in fight and ready to  
 engage, he lifted up his Eyes and joining his  
 Hands, he called God to witness of his In-  
 tentions, he implored his Assistance, beseech-  
 ing him to bring the Rebels to the Acknow-  
 ledgment of him who was their Lawful So-  
 vereign. *But, O Lord, says he, if thou hast  
 been pleased to dispose otherwise of the Crown, or  
 if thou seest in thine infinite Wisdom, that I  
 should be one of those Kings whom thou givest in  
 thy Wrath, take away my Life with my Crown;  
 let me be this day the Victim of thy most holy De-  
 crees, let this Kingdom be delivered by my Death  
 from the dreadful Calamities of the War, and  
 let my own Blood be the last that shall be shed for  
 this CAUSE.*

Having done praying, he took his Head-  
 Piece, whereupon was a Bunch of three white  
 Feathers, and before he had let down the Vi-  
 sor, he spoke to his Squadron as follows:  
*COMPANIONS, if you share this day my Destiny,  
 I will share yours likewise; I will conquer or die  
 with*

with you ; stand fast in your Ranks, I beg of you ; Henry IV.  
 if thro' the Heat of the Engagement, you come <sup>1590.</sup>  
 out of them, don't forget to rally without Delay, Pope Six-  
 tus V.  
 that is the getting of the Day. You shall rally  
 at those three Trees (PEAR-TREES) which you  
 see before at your Right Hand ; if you lose your  
 Standards and Colours, don't lose the sight of my  
 white Feathers, you shall meet them always in  
 the Career of Honour and Victory.

After the Victory had been in suspense for a Time, at last it turned on his side. The principal Glory there of was intirely owing, after God, to his good Conduct. Above a thousand Horse were slain with the Count of Egmont ; 400 Prisoners of Note were taken, and the whole Infantry ; the German Foot (*Lansquenets*) were all cut in pieces, the Switzers all disarmed, and not above 4000 Men of the whole Army could escape by flight ; all the Baggage, Artillery, Colours and Standards were taken.

The Duke of *Mayenne* behaved himself with great Bravery, and endeavoured many times to rally ; but finally, fearing lest he should be surrounded, he retired to the Bridge of *Yuri*, crossed it, and having caused it to be broken, he went to *Mantes*, from thence to *St. Dennis*, and then to *Paris* ; part of the Runners away followed him, another part went to *Chartres*.

The King having rushed into a Squadron of *Walloons*, was in so great danger, that his Army took him for lost for a while. Whereupon the Marshal of *Biron*, used to speak freely to him, and who had not engaged, but was by his Majesty's Orders at the Head of a Body of Reserve, to hinder the Enemy from rallying, told him, *Ab ! SIR, that is not just, you have done this day what Biron ought to do, and*  
 Biron

Henry IV. Biron *has done what the King ought to do.*

1590. Which Remonstrance was approved by all those  
 Pope Six- that heard it, and the Generals besought his  
 tus V.

Majesty not to expose his Person in that manner, and to consider that God had not called him to be a *Carabineer*, but to be a King of *France*; that all the Arms of his Subjects ought to fight for him, but that they would become useless, were they once deprived of their Head, which put them all in motion.

He was no less remarkable for his Clemency, Generosity and Civility, than for his great Courage; and the use he made of his Victory was a strong Argument that he was beholden for it rather to his wise Conduct than to Fortune. He chose to receive by Composition the Battalions of the *Switzers*, rather than to cut them in pieces, as he could have done very easily; he restored unto them their Colours, and dismissed them under a Safe-Guard into their own Country, whereby he gained the Friendship of the five small Catholick Cantons. He was so tender towards his Subjects, tho' armed against him, that when the Enemy was pursued after they had been broken, he was crying aloud, *Spare the Frenchmen, but give the Foreigners no quarter.* In the Evening before the Battle Colonel *Tische* had been forced by the Clamours of the *Switzers* to come to him and ask for their Pay, or else they refused to fight. The King highly offended at it, told him, *How so, Colonel Tische, is it an Action becoming a Man of Honour, to ask Money when he should receive his Orders for fighting?* The Colonel went away quite confounded at that Answer. But the next Morning, the King remembering what he had said, went to meet the Colonel, and told him, *Colonel, we are going to engage,*

*I don't know whether I shall be killed or not ; it is not just that I should carry along with me the good Name of such a brave Gentleman as you are ; therefore I do declare that I hold you for a Man of Honour and Probity, incapable of doing any thing base.* The Colonel was extremely moved at this the King's Generosity, and returned a suitable Answer to his Majesty.

Henry IV.  
1590.  
Pope Sixtus V.

After the Battle he went to *Rosny*, where he supp'd ; while he was at Table, he was told that the Marshal of *Aumont* was come to give him an Account of what he had done ; immediately he rose up and went to meet him, and having embraced him, he invited him to sup with him and obliged him to sit at the same Table, telling him, *that it was but reasonable that he should partake of the Feast, seeing that he had so well served him at his Wedding.*

The Consternation was general at *Paris* after that Loss, and had the King marched, without delay, to that Capital, he would certainly have been received in it without much ado. But the Marshal of *Biron* and the Super-Intendant *D'O* were against it, both for their own private Interest, tho' their Views were different.

Consequences thereof.

The Dowager of *Montpensier* who used to impose upon the People by false News, could not devise any better means for colouring this Loss than by telling them, that indeed the Duke of *Mayenne* had lost the Day, but that the *Bearnese* had been slain. The foolish People believed that Piece of News for five or six Days together, which was enough to recover them from their Fright (s).

(s) Prefixe Hist. de *Henry IV.* p. 146—154.

Henry IV. The very same Day of the Battle of *Jvri*,  
 1590. the Royalists got another great Advantage  
 Pope Six- over the Leaguers in *Auvergne*, the Count  
 tus V. of *Rendan* was routed near *Issoire* by the  
 Issoire in Counts of *Curton*, *Rossignac* and *Chazeron*;  
 Auvergne he lost 2000 Men slain on the Field, and  
 taken by the the broken Remnants of his Army were  
 Royalists. massacred by the Peasants, he himself was  
 taken Prisoner and died of his Wounds.

XXXIII. The King having sojourned some Days at  
*The King's* *Mantes*; took the field again; *Lagny*, *Pro-*  
*Progress.*  *vins*, *Monterau*, *Melun* and *Vernon* experi-  
 enced his Clemency, or his Justice; being  
 forced to yield to his victorious Arms.

XXXIV. The Duke of *Mayenne*, in order to stop  
 Mayenne these Progresses, amused the King with the  
*seigns to be* Shadow of a Treaty wherein *Villeroy* on  
*willing to* *Mayenne's* side; and *Du Plessis* on the King's;  
*come to A-* were employed. *Villeroy* pretended that his  
 greement. Master was inclined to hearken to an Agree-  
 ment, provided he could do it with Safety  
 and Honour; whereby he meant the Pre-  
 servation of the Catholick Religion and his  
 own Safety. *Du Plessis* gave him all the Sa-  
 tisfaction he could desire as to these two Points.  
 But being gone to give the Duke an Account  
 of what he had done, the said Duke declared  
 unto him, that he could not proceed any fur-  
 ther in that Business without the Advice of  
 his Confederates, and desired to have a longer  
 time to confer with them.

Before this, and while the King was at  
*Mantes*, Cardinal *Cajetan* had desired to have  
 a Conference with the Marshal of *Biron*, who  
 with the King's Licence met him at *Noisy*  
 with several of the Nobility; there, after  
 great Compliments paid reciprocally, the  
 Legate seeing that the Face of Affairs was  
 quite

quite different from what he had thought at *Rome*, and that the Royalists were fully resolved to defend, with all their Might, the CAUSE of the Kingdom against their common Enemy, he went away quite confounded; and having learned, by Experience, that the Nobility and others nearly concerned in the Affairs of the Kingdom, judged of them very differently from the Cardinals and other idle People, secure against the Danger at *Rome*.

Henry IV.  
1590.  
Pope Six-  
tus V.

A very comical thing happened in this Conference; *Annas* of *Anglure*, Lord of *Givri*, accompanied the Marshal of *Biron* to *Noisy*, and being strongly solicited to desert the King and take party with the League, whereto to induce him, they extolled to the Skies his great Merit and the great Reputation of his glorious Feats, which would be better acknowledged in the proposed Party, he stood unmoveable. But at last, being told that, as a good Catholick, he ought at least to ask pardon of the Pope and of his Legate for all the mischief he had done heretofore to the *Parisians*, which would be readily granted; he instantly kneeled down before the Legate, craving pardon, with a sad Countenance, and all other outward Signs of a thorough Repentance; the Legate gave him his Blessing, but before he rose up, he required the Legate to absolve him likewise of all the Mischief he intended to do henceforward to the same *Parisians* which should be more than he had yet done, if he could. Whereupon laughing heartily, he went from the Legate's Presence, who revoked the Pardon and Blessing he had just now granted him (*t*).

(*t*.) Thuan. lib. 98. p. 61.

Henry IV. A few days after, *Du Plessis* spoke to the King in behalf of the Reformed, and endeavoured to obtain a Revocation of the Edicts published against them in the last Reign. <sup>1590.</sup> *Pope Sixtus V.* XXXV. But his Majesty, tho' very sensible of the Reasonableness of that Petition, was much perplexed about the Ways and Means to grant it, therefore he referred him to the Marshall of *Biron* and the Super-Intendant *D'O*. The Marshall saying to *Du Plessis*, that it was impossible that two Religions so different from one another could ever subsist in the same Kingdom : *How so*, replies *Du Plessis*, *since you know, by Experience, that they do agree mighty well together in one and the same Bed?* (Lady of *Biron* professed openly the Reformed Religion.) Nevertheless, for avoiding to give him any Satisfaction, they fed the King with the Hopes that *Paris* would treat very soon with, him and added, that did his Majesty grant that Edict petitioned for, the Jealousies against him would be increased thereby, and the good Intentions of his faithful Servants rendered useless. So that he deferred it to a better Time (v).

While the King was at *Corbeil* he received a Messenger from the Duke of *Piney*, then at *Rome*, whereby he was informed that the Pope was much alienated from the League, and had refused to send them any Assistance since he had been better informed of the true State of the Nation. And indeed we find in *Thuanus* a very warm exhortatory Letter of the Duke of *Mayenne* to his Holiness, wherein he upbraided him with Desertion from the Cause of God (u).

XXXVI. His Majesty having secured all the Places upon the Rivers from whence *Paris* receives its  
*Paris blocked up.*

(v) Vie Du Plessis Mornay, liv. 1. p. 147, 148.

(u) Thuan. lib. 98.

its Provisions, blocked up intirely that City on Henry IV. the 9th of *May*. On his way thither he made a fruitless Attempt on *Sens*; his Intelligence in that City failed him.

1590.  
Pope Six-  
tus V.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was not at *Paris*, having left the Duke of *Nemours* for Governour during his absence, with about 8000 Men as a Garison; he was gone to meet the Duke of *Parma* at *Condé*, to implore his Assistance. He was in the greatest Perplexities, dreading the Loss of *Paris*, for he foresaw that if he introduced the *Spaniards* into it, the SIXTEEN would make use of them for restoring their own Authority, and perhaps for putting that City, in spite of him, under the *Spanish* Yoke. For the SIXTEEN did not at all like him, because he had abolished their Council of FORTY, which restrained his Authority, and had too great Resemblance with the Republican Government, which they had a mind to introduce; he had created another Council, a Keeper of the Seals, and four Secretaries of State, with whom he governed every thing without calling the Sixteen, only when he had occasion for Money. Besides that, the Cardinal of *Bourbon* died just at this Time, on the 9th of *May*, at *Fontenay* the Place of his Confinement (x); he was

(x) *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon*, was born, one may say, for exposing the Kingdom to the Mockery and Scorn of all Nations; after he had suffered the Duke of *Guise* to abuse his Name for a long time, to the Detriment and Ruin of his Country, and of his own House, he at last drew upon himself all the Mischiefs which he was obliged to undergo, having kindled that bloody War which put the whole Kingdom in combustion for so many Years. He was extremely superstitious; as to the rest, he was liberal and voluptuous, over-credulous, which made him much addicted to Astrologers, whom he consulted oftentimes; having been told one day that he would be King,



Henry IV. was afraid lest that Event should afford the  
 1590. Spaniards and Sixteen a Pretence for demand-  
 Pope Six- ing the Creation of a new King, and that he  
 tus V. should be obliged to yield to their Importuni-  
 ties. And indeed it was the first Condition stipulated by the *Spanish* Agents in the Treaty they concluded with him for sending Forces to his Relief; and he, unwilling to disoblige them, promised that he would summon the General States for that purpose, at *Paris* instead of *Me-lun*, where he had appointed them last Year. In the mean while he intreated his Friends in the Parliament and the Town-House to use their Interest for having him continued in his General Lieutenancy of the State and Crown of *France*; wherein having succeeded, he shewed a great Reluctancy for having the General States;

he was so strongly persuaded thereof, that from that time, he began to alienate himself from his nearest Relations, whom he affected tenderly before. That Conceit of his prompted him to attempt any thing right or wrong, which he thought might be conducive to his future Grandeur; therefore he scrupled not to follow the Duke of *Guise* wherever he thought proper to carry him, and to be his Tool for the Execution of his Designs, having shaken off all Sense of Love for his own Country and Relations; nay, he was not free from Fraud and Deceit, whereby, more than once, he gave the Duke much Trouble. He had had formerly a mind to marry the Dutchess of *Montpensier*, Sister to the Duke of *Guise*, and would have done it, had he been at liberty when he was proclaimed King by the Leaguers, whereby it would have been an easy matter for him to transmit the Crown to her Brethren, if he died without Male Issue. It is very observable that *Sixtus V.* took no manner of notice of him in his Letters to the Parliament of *Paris*, nor in the Instructions given to his Legate. And that no Provision was made for his Maintenance as King by those who had proclaimed him, on pretence that his own Revenues and Benefices were more than sufficient in the present condition he was in; whereat many People were extremely offended. He died of the Stone in the sixty sixth Year of his Age. *Thuan. lib. xcvi. p. 67. lib. xcvi. p. 24, 25, 26.*

States, and endeavoured with all his might Henry IV. to oppose their Convocation (y).

*Paris* being blocked up, the Legate and the Sixteen neglected nothing for encouraging the People. They consulted the *Sorbonne*, who gave them what Resolutions they pleased against him, whom they stiled the *BEARNESE*, they procured several Processions general and particular, amongst others, a very comical one composed of all the Fryars and Monks that lived at *Paris*, the Canon Regulars, Benedictines, and Celestines excepted, all armed over their respective Habits; they made up together a Regiment of 1300 Men. The Legate was curious to see their first Review, and they, in order to do him honour, made a general discharge, whereby his Secretary was killed at his side (z).

1590.  
Pope Six-  
tus V.

At the same time the Duke of *Nemours* took much pains to put the City in a State of Defence, and the Inhabitants being for the most part thoroughly persuaded, that if the King was once in possession of the City, he would certainly abolish the Catholick and establish the Reformed Religion, assented themselves and paid freely whatever Sums were required of them. I shall not insist upon all the Particulars of that memorable Siege, whereby that large and opulent City was upon the point of perishing by Famine, had it not been relieved by the Duke of *Parma*, after near four Months Siege. I shall only make these three or four Observations:

First, When the City was blocked up there were in it only 230000 Inhabitants; about 100000, dreading the threatening Danger, had deserted.

(y) Idem lib. xcvi. Prefixe p. 156, 7, 8.

(z) Thuan. lib. xcvi. p. 69.

Henry IV. In the Times of Peace that great City was supplied every Week with fresh Provisions, that came in plenty by the Rivers of *Seine*, *Marne*, and *Oyse*. A few private Families foreseeing the Storm, had stored some Provisions for themselves, such as Meal, Flower, Butter, Salt-Pork, Oil, Wine, &c. but their Number was very small in comparison of those who had not taken a like Precaution either through Imprudence, or for want of proper Means. The Chiefs had been so little cautious, that in three Weeks time all the Provisions they had in the publick Magazines were consumed, so that all the Passages of the Rivers from whence they used to receive their Provisions being stopped by the Royalists, they were afflicted with such a dreadful Famine, that the People were forced to feed upon Cats, Dogs, Rats, Grasse, wild Roots, nay upon dead Bodies; and by the Invention of *Mendoza* the *Spanish* Embassador, they fed upon Bread made of dry human Bones ground for that purpose, which Food was mortal to every one who made use of it. Above 13000 Persons died with Hunger in less than two Months and a half. All this while the abominable Preachers of the *League* fed the miserable People sometimes with false News of some Advantage or other got by their Party, sometimes with vain Hopes of a speedy Relief from the *Spaniards*. Nay, following the Steps of the *Sorbonists*, they were so desperately wicked, as to thunder from the Pulpit against those who spoke of coming to some Agreement with the *BEARNESE*, not only threatening them with eternal Damnation, but encouraging and exhorting the Heads of the Party to put them to death (a).

Secondly,

(a) Thuanus lib. xcix. p. 77.

Secondly, Whereas I have mentioned the Decrees of the *Sorbonne*, we here must observe, that the *Parisians* understanding that Cardinal of *Bourbon* was dangerously sick, consulted those Divines upon these three Points. First, whether *Henry* of *Bourbon* could be acknowledged King of *France* after his Uncle's Death, tho' he should reconcile himself with the *Pope*? Secondly, whether he or they who should sue for Peace with the said *Henry*, or should consent to it, being in a condition to oppose him, ought not to be held for Hereticks or Abettors of Hereticks? Thirdly, whether it was a meritorious thing before God and Men, to oppose the said *Henry* by all means; and in case one should die in that Quarrel, whether he should not be deemed a holy Martyr?

Henry IV  
1590.  
Pope Six-  
tus V.

They answered these Queries on the 7th of *May*, and declared that it was not lawful for any Catholick to acknowledge for their King an Heretick or Abettor of Hereticks, a notorious Enemy of the Church, much less to receive a Relapser who was excommunicated by the *Holy See*; and tho' he could obtain at any time his Absolution, and be reconciled to the Church, yet because there was an evident Danger of his being an Hypocrite, he ought to be excluded for the same Reason, and whoever assists him or suffers him to take possession of the Crown, tho' he has it in his power to oppose him, that Person is justly suspected of Heresy, he is an Enemy to the Church; now *Henry* of *Bourbon* is a Heretick, Abettor of Hereticks, a Relapser excommunicated, &c. *Ergo*. And tho' any lawful Successor to the Crown should happen to die, or yield his Title unto him, he and they who abet him are suspected of Heresy, Enemies to the Church, and as such deserve to be

**H**enry IV. severely punished. Now as those who abet  
 1590. and assist the said *Henry of Bourbon*, Pretender  
*Pope Six-* to the Crown, are Deserters from the true Re-  
*tus V.* ligion, and actually live in a mortal Sin; so  
 those who by all possible means do oppose his  
 Designs, being moved thereto by a Zeal for Re-  
 ligion, deserve a great deal before God and  
 Men: and as we might very rightly judge  
 that the first persisting obstinately in their Re-  
 solution of settling the Kingdom of Satan, are  
 devoted to eternal Damnation; so we may say  
 with good reason, that the others shall be glo-  
 riously recompensed in Heaven if they per-  
 severe till Death, and as Defenders of the  
 Faith they shall obtain the Crown of Martyr-  
 dom (*b*). Such were in those Days the erro-  
 neous Opinions of those great Divines, con-  
 sidered as Rulers of the *Gallican* Church, who  
 ascribed to themselves the Right of determining  
 between Leprosy and Leprosy, as the High-  
 Priest of the *Jews*, and who did not scruple to  
 sell their Honour and Conscience for some *Span-*  
*ish* Pistoles, and draw the People into a depth  
 of Miseries.

Thirdly, Notwithstanding these Decisions  
 and some others whereby it was forbidden to  
 hold any Correspondence or to treat with *Hen-*  
*ry of Bourbon*; the Heads of the *League* were  
 forced two or three times to come to a Parley  
 with the King's Deputies, in order to obtain  
 either a general Peace, or a particular one for  
 the City of *Paris*. True it is, that before they  
 took that Step, they had the Advice of the *Sor-*  
*bonne* and of the *Legate*; their Queries were,  
 Whether in case of urgent Necessity, such as the  
 present was, there was any sin in treating with  
*Henry of Bourbon*, for avoiding a greater Mis-  
 chief

(*b*) Thuan. lib. xcviij. p. 68, 69.

chief? Whether the Deputies sent to that Henry I Prince for working his Conversion, or for bettering the Condition of the Catholick Church, were obnoxious to the Excommunication fulminated by *Sixtus V*? These Queries were answered in the Negative by these egregious Doctors. So that notwithstanding their former Decision, which was reversed by this; notwithstanding a Declaration of the Parliament of *Paris* on the 15th of *June*, whereby they condemned to death any one, of what Rank or Quality soever, who should talk of compounding upon any Terms with *Henry of Bourbon*; they were very glad to obtain a Pass from his Majesty to confer with his Deputies. At the first time, the Legate himself desired to confer with the Marquis of *Pisany*, come lately from *Rome*; at the second time, the King himself with Chancellor of *Chiverny*, restored of late to that Dignity, and Marshal of *Biron*, came to the Convent of *St. Antony*, and conferred with Cardinal of *Retz* Bishop of *Paris*, and the Archbishop of *Lyons* in the beginning of *August*. And before that, *Villeroy* had had a Conference with *Barbezieres*, Lord of *Cbeme-raud*, a Royalist (c).

Fourthly, The King committed three or four gross Errors after the Battle of *Jvri* and during this Siege. 1. Instead of marching directly to *Paris* after the said Battle, he lost so much time (above fifteen days) at *Mantes*. There is no doubt but if he had taken that Course, as he was advised by his faithful Counsellors of the Reformed Religion, and as he himself inclined to, *Paris* would have opened its Gates; so great was the Consternation of the Inhabitants, and the Alacrity of his Partizans in that City. But the

(c) Thuan. lib. xcviij, xcix.

Henry I  
1590.  
Pope Six-  
tus V.

Henry IV. time he spent needlessly at *Mantes*, served to re-  
 1590.  
 Pope Six-  
 tus V. vive the Courage of his Enemies, and to dis-  
 hearten his Friends, so that he had but an  
 unhappy Success in his Attempt. 2. His Me-  
 thod in besieging that City was very defective,  
 he proposed to himself to take it by Famine, not  
 considering the Character of those who were at  
 the Helm of Affairs; nor of most part of the  
 Inhabitants: well and good if he had tried that  
 Method for six Weeks or two Months; but  
 after that Time, seeing that it was in vain, he  
 ought to have made use of the ordinary means  
 for subduing that rebellious Capital. 3. He  
 was even much defective in that very Method,  
 for instead of keeping the City closely shut up,  
 so that no body could come out, and of for-  
 bidding strictly to introduce therein any kind of  
 Provisions, he was the first who consented to  
 the coming of above 4000 useless People out  
 of the City, and suffered his Officers that kept  
 the Passages, and even the Soldiery to intro-  
 duce Victuals into it, one way or another, for  
 Money or some rich Furniture; whereby the  
 Obstinacy of the rich sort was strengthened,  
 and the Misery of the poor lengthened and in-  
 creased. 4. But the grossest Error of all was,  
 that he raised the Siege to march with his whole  
 Army against the Duke of *Parma*, who came  
 at last to the Relief of the City after near four  
 Months of Expectation; instead of leaving part  
 of his Troops for continuing the Siege, know-  
 ing certainly that the *Parisians* were not then  
 in a Condition to make any Sally, being almost  
 starved to death, and weakned by their long  
 fasting, that they were not able stand.

I know that some Historians, such as *Pere-  
 fixe*, have taken occasion from this the King's  
 Conduct, to extol his great Clemency, which  
 engaged

engaged him to chuse the mildest Ways for Henry IV. bringing the City to a thorough Acknowledgement of their Rebellion; THAT OPULENT 1590. Pope Sixtus V. CITY, WHICH HE WAS USED TO CALL HIS ELDEST AND MOST BELOVED DAUGHTER! *He would not, that Great King! suffer it to be exposed to be plundered and ransacked by the rapacious Soldiers, especially the Huguenots, who without doubt would have remembered and revenged upon the poor Inhabitants, the PARISIAN MATTINS.* What a fine Thing that is! But rather how ridiculous it is to give for the Cause what is not so, and to dissemble the true Motives of Actions, in order to find in them some false Colours for extolling a Hero in whose Conduct we find so many other real Subjects for the highest Encomiums? *Henry IV.* was a clement and merciful Prince, that is true; but *Henry IV.* knew as well as any Man in the World, that to starve an Enemy to death, is a thing more cruel than to put him to the Sword. *Henry IV.* had a tender Regard for his City of *Paris*, that is true; but *Henry IV.* had a like Regard for all the Cities of the Kingdom, and desired above all things to bring them to a just Sense of their Duty by the mildest means possible; but he was too sensible, for settling his Affections rather upon the Walls or Houses of a City than upon the Inhabitants; and he knew perfectly well that *Paris* was the very Nest from whence came forth all those impure and ravenous Birds, which destroyed every thing wherever they could perch. But he knew that the best way for putting a speedy End to the Civil Wars, was to be Master of that Capital, and that as soon as the Head should have been cured, the rest of the Body would recover a pace, and that the best Method for reducing that City

was



Henry IV. was to storm it after having famished it. Finally, he knew very well that if he raised the Siege entirely, the Passages being opened, Provisions would come in plenty into the City, and the Governours thereof would be more cautious than before to store them. All these things he knew perfectly well; why then did he not act accordingly? the true Reason was, because he was not Master as yet to do what he would; Marshal of *Biron* who had great Credit amongst the Troops, and the Marquis *D'O*, governed him entirely, he durst not oppose their Will, they both were led by their own private Interest; the first was afraid lest the War being at an end, his Authority would cease of course; the second aimed at the Forfeiture of his Creditors Estates, which he thought would fall to be the Lot of the Soldiers, should the City be taken by Storm: so that, for gratifying their private Interest, they put the King upon acting in a way quite contrary to his own Honour, as well as to his own Inclination.

Those who say that he had not sufficient Forces for taking the City any otherwise than by a Blockade, do not mind much what they say; his Army was at least 22000 strong, Horse and Foot, when he raised the Siege; and if he had been able to storm, in three Hours time, in the Night, all the Suburbs, who were in no small Number, why could he not storm the City in a Day, especially two Months after the beginning of the Siege? We have said it, the private Affections of some Great Men in his Council and in his Army, occasioned all this Mismanagement; they were not ashamed even to forge News for compassing their Ends, they told him every day, nay, sometimes every

every hour, that they had received certain Advice that their Friends were upon the point of prevailing in the City, that to-morrow or the next day they would open the Gates, and such like stuff, to decoy his Majesty and to deceive him by fair Words.

Henry IV.  
1590.  
Pope Six-  
tus V.

Howbeit, on the 29th of *August* having certain Advice that the Duke of *Parma* had joined that of *Mayenne*, and that they were no further than six Leagues from *Paris*, Henry marched out of his Camp with part of his Troops, and appointed *Bondi's* Field for the rest to meet him the next day. He questioned not but the Enemy would give him battle, as they had industriously procured it to be published, in sure Expectation that it would prove the best means to oblige the King to raise the Siege, and march from before *Paris* with his whole Army, wherein they were not deceived.

XXXVI.  
*The Siege*  
*raised.*

But the Duke of *Parma*, as prudent and experienced as he was brave, was not such a Fool as to engage inconsiderately with the King; it is said, that he let him know beforehand, that he would oblige him to raise the Siege of *Paris*, and take a Town before his Face, without engaging with him, and indeed he was as good as his word; for on the first of *September* being come upon a Hill to take a view of the Royal Army, he was something surprized at their Number, (for he had been told that they were but ten thousand) and at their Order; whereupon he resolved to decline any Engagement, accordingly he pitch'd his Camp in a morassy Ground, which he retrenched so well, that he could not be forced. On the 8th of the same Month he battered *Lagny*, took it, and caused it to be plundered.

After

Henry IV. After that Exploit, the King's Army began  
 1590. to be in Distress for want of Provisions, they had  
 Pope Six- no Bread for two or three Days. The Soldiers  
 tus V. mutiny'd, the Generals charged one another  
 XXXVII. with the bad Success of the Siege of *Paris*, the  
 The King Nobility asked leave to retire to their own  
 breaks his Houses, seeing no Battle was to be expected,  
 Army. great Divisions and Heats arose between the  
 Reformed and the Catholicks, and between the  
 Officers of the old Court and the present.

Thereupon the King considered in his Coun-  
 cil what was to be done in that sad Juncture ; it  
 was resolved to break up the Camp, and retire.  
 He took his way near *Senlis*, crossed the *Oyse* at  
*Creil* with a Haste more like a Flight than a  
 Retreat ; he took *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*, gave  
 the Plunder thereof to the Soldiers, and sent  
 part of his Troops to the Places adjacent to  
*Paris*, which held for his Party, another Part  
 into the Provinces with his Nobility, and kept  
 only 7 or 8 hundred Horse with himself.

XXXVIII. On the 27th of *August*, died at *Rome*, Pope  
 Sixtus V's *Sixtus V.* in the 70th Year of his Age ; he had held  
 Death. the See five Years, four Months and three Days ;  
 having been elected on the 24th Day of *April*  
 1585. Tho' his Reign was so short, neverthe-  
 less it is own'd, by the best Historians, that he  
 did more and greater Things, in so short a time,  
 than any of his Predecessors, which have re-  
 commended his Memory to Posterity ; some of  
 which deserve to be praised, and others excite  
 our Admiration. It is almost incredible what  
 vast Sums he laid out in Buildings and such  
 like things, some very useful to the Publick,  
 and others only for Ornament and a shew of  
 his Magnificence ; and nevertheless he laid up  
 above five Millions of Crowns in his Exche-  
 quer during the time of his Pontificate. True  
 it

it is, that the *State of the Church* and all his other Henry IV. Dominions were overborn with Taxes and Sub-<sup>1590.</sup>sidies, which rendered him so odious to his <sup>Pope Six-</sup>Subjects, especially the *Romans*, that after his <sup>tus V.</sup>Death, the Populace ran into the *Capitol*, in order to pull down his Statue which had been placed there in his Life-time, by the Senate and the *Roman People*, which however they did not execute; but that Tumult occasioned a Decree, whereby it was declared, that *whoever should henceforward erect or propose to erect any Statue for any Pope, in his Life-time*, should be deemed a Villain, incapable to hold any Employment soever (*d*).

His mean Birth, his Rise, and the Character of his Genius, are sufficiently known, therefore I shall not insist upon them. It is certain, that in King *Henry III's* Time he had countenanced the *League*, and had the Duke of *Guise* lived some Years longer, he would undoubtedly have supported it with all his Might, by no other Motive than for gratifying his private Ambition, and in certain hopes of marrying his own Neice with the Prince of *Joinville*, as soon as the Duke of *Guise* his Father should have been proclaimed King of *France*, as we have observed in our last Vol. But after the Death of the Duke of *Guise* and of *Henry III.* he began to relent and alter his Method, refusing absolutely to assist the Leaguers in the least; which provoked so much the *Spanish* Ambassador Count *D'Olivarez*, that he upbraided his *Holiness* with Pusillanimity, and with betraying the Cause of God; whereat the *Pope* was so highly offended, that had not Death prevented him, the Ambassador would have been expelled *Rome*. This Alteration in his Conduct was less owing

(*d*) Thuan. Lib. c. p. 115, 118.

Henry IV. owing to the Remonstrances of the Duke of  
 1590. *Luxemburg-Piney*, than to the Battle of *Jvri*,  
 Pope Six- and especially to the Views he had upon the  
 tus V. Kingdom of *Naples*, which he intended to  
 seize immediately after King *Philip's* Death,  
 for which purpose he laid up such vast Treasures.

Succeeded  
 by Urban  
 VII.

He was succeeded by Cardinal *Castagna*, who took the Name of *Urban VII.* his Reign was very short, he was endowed with great Moderation, of an extensive Charity, and several other Christian Graces, which gave great Expectation of a glorious Pontificate; he died thirteen Days after his Election, shewing forth a perfect Resignation to the Will of God Almighty.

And by  
 Gregory  
 XIV.

He was succeeded, on the 5th of *December*, by Cardinal *Sfondrate*, who took the Name of *Gregory XIV.* He was a great Stickler for the League, and one of their main Supporters; he went much further in that respect than *Sixtus* had ever done, for he not only excommunicated the King and all his Adherents, but he sent ten thousand Men to the Assistance of his Enemies, and paid them fifteen thousand Livres a Month, besides large Sums of Money which he lent to them, for which purpose he laid out part of *Sixtus's* Treasure. It is said in his Defence, that he was afraid lest the *Spaniards* should serve him as they had served his two Predecessors, for it was strongly rumoured that they had been poisoned by the *Spanish* Faction, because they were so little complaisant to that Crown (e).

XXXIX. We shall not undertake to give a particular  
 State of the Account of the state of Affairs in the Provinces,  
 Provinces. that is impossible, inasmuch as they had no

(e) Thuan. Lib. c. ci. Mezeray, Tom. VI. Suite de la 3e Partie.

certain Prospect in View, but they varied as the private Interest of their Chief. The Duke of *Mercœur* was almost Master of the whole Province of *Britany*, where the *Spaniards* made a Descent and took *Blavet*, which they fortified. That Duke was the most obstinate of all the Heads of the League, and stood out the longest, for he could not be brought to yield 'till the Year 1598.

Henry IV.  
1590.  
Pope Gre-  
gory XIV.

The Duke of *Joyeuse* made great Progress in *Languedoc*, notwithstanding the Oppositions of the Duke of *Montmorancy*, Governour of that Province, who had been created of late Constable of *France*. But at last he was obliged to yield to a superior Force, and was drowned accidentally in the *Tarn*, in *October* 1593, after he had been routed by *Themines*, and lost 2000 Men slain in the Field or drowned in the River, all his Baggage taken, with 22 Pair of Colours and five Cannons. He was Brother to the Duke of *Joyeuse* killed at *Contras* in 1587 (f).

Marshal of *Matignon* kept the Province of *Guienne* in awe, and the *Leaguers* made none, or very little progress in it; however, the King was not as yet acknowledged by the Parliament; they made use of *Henry III's* Seal, even a Year after his Death, which being thought very ridiculous by the most prudent, *Le Comte*, Master of the Requests and Keeper of the Seal, caused a new one to be made, with the Name of *Henry IV. King of France and Navarre* engraved upon it; for which he was called to an Account by the Parliament, as being done without their Knowledge and Consent. But the King's Attorney took his part, and the Affair being put into Deliberation, whereat *Matignon* was present, and the hottest Opposers being absent

Henry IV. absent upon some other Business, *Le Comte* carried his Point by a great Majority. But nothing advanced more the King's Interest in that Parliament, than the Decree made at *Tours* with his Majesty's Consent on the 10th of *November*, and read at *Bordeaux* on the 20th, whereby the Chambers of Justice composed only of Judges professing the Reformed Religion, and which had been established under the late King at *St. John of Angely* in *Saintonge*, at *Bergerac* in *Perigord*, and at *Montauban* in *Quercy*, were suppressed as abovesaid, and the Reformed obliged to appear before the ancient Tribunals and Courts, as in former Times, whenever there was Occasion, which indeed was a great Hardship put upon them (g).

In Dau-  
phiné.

*Les Diguieres*, and *D'Albigny*, Governour of *Grenoble* for the League, waged War against one another, the former for the King, the latter for the League; but the first being much superior, forced, at last, the other to yield intirely, having taken by Composition the City of *Grenoble* after three Weeks Siege, whereby the whole Province was reduced under the King's Obedience, and that great Man in a Condition of affording his Assistance, sometimes to *Maugiron*, Deputy-Governour of the *Lyonese*, and sometimes to *La Valette* Governour of *Provence*. We must not forget to observe, that as soon as the News of the late King's Murder reached *Dauphiné*, Colonel *Alphonso Ornano* a *Corfican*, Deputy-Governour of that Province, being fully convinced that Religion was but a mere Pretence which the Heads of the League made use of for compassing their private Views, he made no scruple to sue for *Les Diguieres's* Friendship, and to make an Alliance offensive and

and defensive with him, which was concluded Henry IV. and signed at *La Grange*, on the 13th of September 1589, but a few Months after he was taken Prisoner of War by the *League* (b). 1590.  
Pope Gregory XIV.

*Provence* was miserably rent by three Fac-  
tions besides the Royalist Party; the Duke of *Savoy*, the Countess of *Sault*, the Count of *Carces* had each their own. The Duke of *Savoy*'s seemed to be predominant, and to keep the two others in his own Interest: But the Countess, (her Name was *Christierna of Aguerre*, Relict of *Louis of Agout* Count of *Sault*) a Lady of great Courage and a high Spirit, was willing to introduce him into the Province only with a view to make herself the strongest in it: And the Count of *Carces*, unable to subsist by himself, was very glad to see the Duke in the Province, in order to make a Diversion of *La Valette*'s Forces, with whom it was impossible for him to cope by any other means. The Parliament of *Aix* itself was likewise divided betwixt these three Factions, and some of the Members thereof had separated themselves from the others, being in the King and *La Valette*'s Interest, and held their Sessions at *Manosque*.

The King of *Spain* being sensible that if he could possibly wrest that Province from the *French*, he would be Master of the *Mediterranean*, break their Alliance with the *Turks*, interrupt their Correspondence with *Italy*, and their Trade in the *Levant*; sent a naval Army of 47 Gallies to the Duke of *Savoy*, and gave

(b) Vie du Connestable de Les Diguieres Liv. III. ch. xii. & chap. vii. p. 180, 181. Thuan. lib. xciv. speaks only of a Truce which had been agreed in February 1589, and was to last to the latter end of 1590; but there is no contradiction between them both, the Truce was made at the time which Thuanus says, before the King's Death, but served as the Basis of the Alliance concluded after that Prince's Decease.



Henry IV. him leave to raise Troops in the *Milanese* and in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

1590.  
Pope Gre-  
gory XIV.

In the first Heats of these Commotions, the Duke, by his Intrigues and his Money, got the upper-hand; the Magistrates of the chief Cities, amongst others, *Marseilles*, and *Aix* were all at his Disposal; a great Assembly of the Clergy and Nobility held at *Aix* in *January*, resolved to put the Province under his Protection, and deputed unto him a Bishop and the first Consul of the City; nay, the Parliament itself decreed to call him to protect the Province, and confiscated the Goods and Estates of the *VARIEGATED*, so they called the Royalists (*j*); he came accordingly, and was received with the utmost Pomp and Magnificence.

It would be a piece of Folly to pretend to enter into the Particulars of the manifold Intrigues and Exploits of so many Parties, who altering every day their Views and Schemes, knew not very well themselves what they were about; so that I shall omit them: only I shall observe, that the Duke of *Savoy*, immediately after the late King's Death, had put to a great Tryal the Fidelity of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, offering to take them and the whole Province of *Dauphiné* under his Protection, if they would acknowledge his Title, as being Son to one of *Francis I's* Daughters. But they wisely answered, that that Proposition was of such Importance that it belonged not to them but only to the General States of the Kingdom to resolve it, and to them they referred him. Whereupon *D'Albigny* his good Friend, Governor of *Grenoble*, advised him to try his Fortune upon *Provence*; wherein indeed he had at first

(*j*). *Thuan. lib. xcvi.*

first much better Success than he could reasonably expect (i). Henry IV. 1599.

I shall not speak of the Transactions in several other Provinces, where Affairs were in as great Confusion as in *Provence*, but I shall return to Court. After the King's Retreat, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne* came out of their Retrenchments, (it is said the first being curious to see the City of *Paris*, went thither *incognito*, but was extremely moved at such a melancholy Sight) and took some small Towns in the *Brie*. They endeavoured to open the Passages of the *Seine*, as they had done the *Marne's*, for which purpose the Duke of *Parma* besieged *Corbeil*, which he could not take but after a Month's Siege, through the Jealousies of the Governour of the Places that held for the *League*, and he lost 3000 Men of his Troops who died with the Bloody Flux, caused by their eating too many green Grapes. After that Exploit he returned into the *Low Countries*, very ill satisfied with the Duke of *Mayenne*, with whom however he left 8000 Men. Before he marched he had the mortification to lose his new Conquest, I mean *Corbeil*, which *Givry* retook by Escalado in the Night. The King having re-assembled his Troops, pursued the said Duke for some time.

Now Divisions were rise in the King's and the *League's* Parties, each Chief of the *League* aimed at Sovereignty in the Province where he was supported, the Duke of *Merceur* in *Bri-tany*, the Duke of *Jayeuse* in *Languedoc*, and the Duke of *Savoie* in *Provence*; nay, the Duke of *Mayenne* himself could not bear without Jealousy the Respects paid by the *Parisians* to the Duke of *Nemours* his Half-Brother, and

1599.  
Pope Gregory XIV.

XL.

The Leaguers' Army's Operations.

XLI.

Divers Factions in the King's and the League's Party.

Henry IV. the Preference which their Mother the old Dowager gave to this last before him; he shewed publicly how far he carried his Resentment against him, when he refused him the Government of *Normandy*, which he desired with great Earnestness, and thenceforward they could never agree well together. The SIXTEEN had a mind to unite together the great Cities of the Kingdom and to form thereof a Republican State, they were outwardly supported by the King of *Spain*, who was in hopes to improve these Dispositions to his best Advantage. They hated the Duke of *Mayenne*, because he opposed their Designs, and had abrogated the Council of FORTY, and gave them no share in the publick Administration of Affairs (*k*).

Amongst the Royalists there were more Intrigues, though not carried to such great Heats, because they all respected the King. The Reformed dreading the Consequences of the King's Change, left no stone unturned to divert that threatening Danger, and were very active near his Majesty to engage him to be stedfast in his Religion; for which purpose they made use of all their Friends in the Protestant Courts of *England* and *Germany*, for procuring greater Succours from Queen *Elizabeth* and the Protestant Princes, to the end that their Master, being powerfully assisted by them, he might stand less in need of his Catholick Subjects for the recovering of his Right. The Viscount of *Turenne* was charged with that Commission, and sent by the King into *England* and *Germany*, where his Negotiations had the desired Success.

The second Faction in the King's Party, was the Catholicks, zealous, or feigning to be such, for

(*k*) Mezeray *Henry IV.* p. 45, 47.

for their Religion, they endeavoured with all their <sup>Henry IV.</sup> Might to alienate his Majesty from the Reformed, they grumbled whenever he bestowed upon them any Charges or Offices, or whenever <sup>1590. Pope Gregory XIV.</sup> he spoke with them in private.

The third Faction was composed of the Favourites and Officers of the old Court, who were much displeased at the present King's Temper, because he did not bestow upon them whatever their Greediness coveted, and would not be led by the Nose by them; of these, most part were without Religion, Atheists, Libertines, however linked with the Catholicks, and created much uneasiness to the King.

Out of the two last Factions united together, sprung a *Third Party*, which the King used to call the TERSELS or TASSELS. Cardinal of Vendome Son to Lewis I. Prince of Condé, who since the Death of his Uncle had taken the Name of *Bourbon*, was the Head thereof. That young Prince, vain and ambitious, flattered himself that the Crown would devolve unto him, should the King his Cousin refuse to change his Religion; with that view he made Interest with the Catholicks, and engaged them to insist upon the King's speedy Conversion; being in hopes that neither his Conscience nor his Affairs were as yet disposed for that Change, he would still protract the Time if he did not reject the Proposal, and consequently, he would have him deemed, by his secret Intrigues, for an obstinate Heretick, and engage the Catholicks to forsake him, and then side with him. In truth that *Faction* was the most intricate Affair which ever perplexed the King, tho' he feigned to scorn it. And it is more than likely that his Majesty would not have abjured his Religion, at least so soon, had

Henry IV. it not been for the Troubles created unto him by that very Party, out of whom it was impossible, humanly speaking, to extricate himself by any other means (1).

1590.  
Pope Gre-  
gory XIV

1591.

I shall pass over several Attempts made by the two Parties at the beginning of the Year 1591. The *Parisians* were disappointed at *St. Dennis*, the Chevalier of *Aumale* was slain just upon the point of being Master of that Town; and the King missed *Paris*, when he was almost sure to enter it; that Day was called the MEAL's Day, because he was to surprize that City, by means of a Convoy of Meal which was to be introduced into it. But the Cheat was timely discovered, and the Clamours of the Inhabitants obliged the Duke of *Mayenne* to admit a Garison of 4000 *Spaniards*.

XLII.  
A new  
Scheme for  
a Religious  
Peace ap-  
proved, but  
delayed.

After the raising of the Siege of *Paris*, the Proposal for mending the Condition of the Reformed had been taken again into Consideration in the King's Council; and the King moving towards *Normandy*, charged *Du Plessis* to draw a new Scheme for procuring Peace amongst his Subjects. Accordingly he set down in writing the Form of a Declaration, which contained chiefly these three Points. First, A Repeal of the Edicts of *July* 1585, and of the same Month in 1588. Secondly, the restoring of the Edict granted to the Reformed in 1577, and of the Articles publick and secret, agreed in the Conferences of *Nerac* and *Flex*. Thirdly, the Restauration of the Roman Catholicks and of their Religion, in all the Places possessed by the present King at the time of the Truce agreed and signed by the late King two Years before, the Reformed continuing to enjoy the free publick Exercise of their own Religion in the said Places.

(1) Prefixe Vie de *Henry le Grand*, pag. 189.

Places. All this by Provision only, and until Henry IV his Majesty should be, through the Mercy of God, in a proper Condition of re-uniting his Subjects into one Fold, by the means of a General or National Council, or at least of a select number of the most eminent Divines of both Religions in the Kingdom (*m*).

1591.  
Pope Gre  
gory XIV

The great Impartiality and Moderation which *Du Plessis* had observed in the framing of that Declaration was highly approved and applauded, not only by the King, but also by his whole Council; the Chancellor and he received Orders to carry it to *Tours* in order to be read and registered in the Parliament sitting there. But being arrived at *Anet*, they were obliged to return, having received there an Express from his Majesty, who countermanded them, and that Affair was put off for some Months (*n*).

*Du Plessis* being sensible that such a Delay would be very prejudicial to the King's Interest abroad as well as at home, he sent a Remonstrance to his Majesty upon that Subject, dated in the Month of *March* 1591. Wherein he sets forth with great Freedom, the Wrong that he did unto himself by delaying to do a Thing so just, equitable, useful, necessary, as the intended Edict was, so advantageous to the Catholics themselves, as well as to the Reformed. "God Almighty, says he, has heap-  
"ed so many Blessings of all kinds, upon his  
"Majesty, that they cannot be dissembled, he  
"requires an Acknowledgement, and he  
"who desires to receive Graces upon Graces,  
"must give Grace for them. He has led his  
"Majesty to the Throne by the very Hands

XLIII.  
Du Plessis  
Remon-  
strance to  
the King.

F 4

" of

(*m*) Mem. de *Du Plessis Mornay* Tom. II. p. 66—80.

(*n*) Vie de *Du Plessis Mornay* liv. i. p. 155.

Henry IV “ of his Enemies: The whole Christendom  
 1591. “ owns that he has been called to the Crown  
 Pope Gre- “ by most extraordinary Means; it must be  
 gory XIV. “ then upon very extraordinary Accounts; he  
 “ must reign effectually for God, since he  
 “ reigns so visibly by God. The Difficulties  
 “ and Obstructions belong unto Men, not unto  
 “ God, who is almighty for delivering, if we  
 “ invoke him and serve him from the bottom  
 “ of our Hearts. There was a far greater Di-  
 “ stance between the fundamental Law and  
 “ the Crown, than between the Edict of Truce  
 “ (in 1589) and the Edict of 1577. If God  
 “ has been pleased in his Mercy to work the  
 “ one for us, we cannot refuse or delay the  
 “ other. It is said, let the *Hugonots* have pa-  
 “ tience. They have suffered for above fifty  
 “ Years together; they will, to be sure, en-  
 “ dure longer for the King’s Service, for they  
 “ are his Subjects, and unalterable in their Af-  
 “ fection. But it is not for his Majesty’s In-  
 “ terest to let them suffer in such things, and  
 “ tho’ they were willing, his Majesty ought not  
 “ to endure it. Religion is smothered in Men,  
 “ if it is not continually fomented. It is his  
 “ Majesty’s Duty to rekindle it in them, and  
 “ to require of them that Ardour which they  
 “ owe to God. God requires of private Men  
 “ only that they should be religious; but as to  
 “ those who are born for all, and whom he has  
 “ constituted for ruling over others, God re-  
 “ quires of them that they should be religious  
 “ not only for themselves, but also for others;  
 “ that is, they must serve God not only them-  
 “ selves, but they must endeavour to bring o-  
 “ thers to do the same. Some say, we will treat  
 “ with the Reformed when we shall treat with  
 “ the Leaguers. What Iniquity, to treat e-  
 “ qually

“qually Things and Persons so unequal! The Henry IV.  
 “Leaguers have always waged War against 1591.  
Pope Gre-  
 “the King; the Reformed for the King; gory XIV.  
 “what occasion has the King for making  
 “Peace with the Reformed? To join them  
 “together in the Treaty of Peace with the  
 “Leaguers, it is to join them together in the  
 “War, it is to make them Accomplices of the  
 “same Crimes with them. All that they  
 “want, is a Regulation with the Catholicks, and  
 “to be delivered from the Oppression whereunder  
 “their Consciences groan. The King is the  
 “Judge and Arbiter thereof; and there is no  
 “need to refer them to an uncertain Negocia-  
 “tion of Peace, which will be settled, God  
 “knows when. But after all, how could they  
 “wait any longer in respect of several daily  
 “Occurrences? Every day somebody comes  
 “in or out of the World, every day there is  
 “some Marriage. Must Children die without  
 “being christened? must Marriages be cele-  
 “brated without any Solemnity? Would they  
 “not be disputed? (and even made void by  
 “the Laws of the Kingdom.) Must the Corpse  
 “remain without Burial? Every day we see  
 “some Instances of these Things, Scandals,  
 “Law-Suits, Inhumanities, for want of Free-  
 “dom of Exercises. To meet three Families  
 “together to pray to God for the King’s  
 “Prosperity, to sing a Psalm in one’s Shop,  
 “to sell a *French New Testament*, or a *French*  
 “*Bible*, these things are deemed irremissible  
 “Crimes by the Judges; and every day they  
 “punish them, and say that they can’t help it,  
 “that they do nothing but execute the last Edicts  
 “still in Force, so that they make no diffe-  
 “rence between praying in a private Room  
 “for the King’s Prosperity, and preaching  
 “feditiously



Henry IV. “ seditiously from the Pulpit against his Person  
 1591. “ and Government.

Pope Gre-  
 gory XIV.

“ All these Evils call aloud for a Remedy,  
 “ and many Inconveniencies will attend the  
 “ Delay thereof. When a People stand in  
 “ need, it is prudently done to prevent it by  
 “ some Liberalities, and to grant them be-  
 “ fore asked for. Indeed the King must not  
 “ teach his Subjects to complain, and much  
 “ less to seek elsewhere for a proper Remedy  
 “ to their Disease. ——— His Majesty knows  
 “ very well that his Subjects cannot live in the  
 “ condition they are in; to the end therefore that  
 “ they should not ask superfluous Things, let him  
 “ grant them the necessary, without being  
 “ asked; to the end that they should not commit  
 “ some error in their way of asking, let him  
 “ spare them the trouble. A foreign Army  
 “ is to come. Two Inconveniencies will pro-  
 “ ceed therefrom, if Things remain *in statu*  
 “ *quo*, as to the Reformed; the foreign Princes  
 “ will certainly beseech his Majesty to grant  
 “ his Reformed Subjects the free Exercise of  
 “ their Religion; that will be very little to  
 “ the honour of his Majesty, to be solicited  
 “ by others to perform his Duty, and to be  
 “ mindful of the Glory of God; what! a  
 “ King like him! a most Christian King! a  
 “ King who from his Infancy has undertaken  
 “ the Protection of the true Christians! No  
 “ Honour for him, no thanks to him, tho’  
 “ he should do it at that time. And may be  
 “ too, they will then ask more, than he would  
 “ care to grant if he could refuse; which will  
 “ afford the Catholicks a Pretence for revoking  
 “ whatever Concessions shall have been made;  
 “ because they will say, that they have been  
 “ extorted by Force, even tho’ the things  
 “ granted

“ granted should fall short of what can be rea- Henry IV.  
 “ sonably expected. But if at their coming <sup>1591.</sup>  
 “ into the Kingdom, they find the Reformed *Pope Gre-*  
 “ enjoying the free Exercise of their Reli- *gory XIV.*  
 “ gion, as there will be no room for them to  
 “ petition upon that account, so that having  
 “ been with the Agreement and Consent of  
 “ their present Opposers, there will be no  
 “ room left them for demanding the Repeal  
 “ of these Concessions. Nothing so much  
 “ commanded Love and Respect for the King  
 “ from all his Subjects at his Accession to the  
 “ Crown, as the Profession he made of fearing  
 “ God, that Fear invited them to dread him  
 “ himself, and made them fear God in him.  
 “ They praised God who had blessed them  
 “ with a Prince that worshipped him, where-  
 “ as his Predecessors blasphemed him. They  
 “ expected that he would be blessed with a hap-  
 “ py Success in all his Undertakings, because  
 “ they saw him trusting intirely upon his mer-  
 “ ciful Providence; and that they would them-  
 “ selves prosper, because they served such a  
 “ Prince endowed with Faith, Honesty, Pro-  
 “ bity, Integrity. But if they perceive his  
 “ Majesty growing cool or lukewarm as to  
 “ his Religion, living less religiously than it  
 “ is prescribed, certainly they will not have  
 “ for him half the Respect they have had  
 “ heretofore. They will say, if he thinks his  
 “ Religion to be true, why doth he not shew  
 “ forth a greater Value and Respect for it? If  
 “ not, why doth he not procure us Rest and  
 “ Quietness by his Change (o)?”

The King was extremely moved by this  
 free Remonstrance, he was very sensible that it  
 contained nothing but plain Truth; but besides  
 that

(o) Mem. de Du Pleffis Mornay, Tom. II. p. 81.

Henry IV. that his Zeal for his Religion began to relent, and that he began to incline towards the Counsel of those who thought that there was no great Sin to remain neuter between the two Religions, his Circumstances did not allow him to proceed any further for the present as to the Satisfaction which his Reformed Subjects required of him, and it was only in *July* following that he granted it, as we shall say presently.

In the while *Du Plessis* took a turn to *Saumur* and had the pleasure to find that his Lady had begun to build a Church for the use of the Reformed. He had himself obtained the King's Patent for erecting an Academy at *Saumur*, which was agreed three Years after by the National Synod held in that City (*p*).

XLIV. About the same time died at *Auxerre* the renowned *James Amiot*, Bishop of that Place, and great Almoner of *France*. He had been Tutor to the Kings *Francis II.* *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* His Birth was very mean, being Son to a Butcher of *Melun*, where he was born; (*St. Real* says, that he was Son to a Currier) his Rise and Progress had something very extraordinary and providential in it, according to the Author just now quoted; for he says, that *Amiot* being a little Boy, ran away from his Father's House for fear of being whipped. That he went not very far off before he fell sick in *Beauisse*, and lay down in a Field. That a Man on horseback, going by, took pity of him and carried him behind him to *Orleans*, where he sent him to the Hospital in order to be cured; but whereas all his Disease proceeded only from Fatigue and Weariness, he had not rested one full Day, but he was perfectly well cured, therefore he was dismissed, having received

(*p*) *Vie du même*, liv. i. p. 157.

1591.  
Pope Gre-  
gory XIV.

James A.  
miot's  
Death,  
some Ac-  
count of  
him.

ceived sixteen Pence to go on with his Jour- Henry IV.  
ney; with that Money he arrived at *Paris*, <sup>1591.</sup>  
and was obliged to beg for his Bread. A Lady <sup>Pope Gre-</sup>  
to whom he addressed himself being well plea- <sup>gory XIV.</sup>  
sed with his Physiognomy took him into her  
House to attend her Sons when they went to  
the College, and to carry their Books; he im-  
proved this Opportunity for gratifying his pro-  
digious Inclination for Learning, and was such a  
Proficient therein; that, as it was usual in those  
days, he was soon suspected of favouring the  
new Opinion about Religion. For fear of the  
worst he left *Paris*, and went into *Berry* to a  
Gentleman of his Acquaintance, who trusted  
him with the Care of his Childrens Education.  
While he was there, *Henry II.* being a travel-  
ling, lodged at that Gentleman's House. *A-*  
*miot* being desired to write something in Verse  
to divert the King, he made an Epigram in  
*Greek*, which being presented to his Majesty by  
his Pupil, he cast his Eyes upon it, and threw it  
down upon the Floor, saying scornfully, *it is*  
*Greek, give it to some other, I am no such Fool.*  
The Author was confounded at it. But *Michel*  
*de l'Hospital*, afterwards Chancellor of *France*,  
who attended the King in that Journey, un-  
derstanding that it was *Greek*, took up the Pa-  
per, read the Epigram and admired it; then he  
took *Amiot* by his Head, and looking him in the  
Face asked him, who was the Author thereof?  
He blushed and all-trembling acknowledged it  
for his own. *L'Hospital* questioning not his  
Sincerity, told his Majesty, that did the Morals  
of that Lad answer to his Learning and super-  
fine Taste, he deserved to be made Tutor to  
the SONS OF FRANCE. Whereupon his Ma-  
jesty asked the Master of the House the Cha-  
racter of *Amiot*, and having had an excellent  
one,

Henry IV. The

1591. of thei  
Pope Gre-  
gory XIV. Henry  
noble

XLV. try of

De Chan- either

dieu: nister

Deu: nister

Deu: nister

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... end of the VOL. IV.

... had been, for  
... of St. Denis to be  
... the very Day of her  
... Pranks more ex-

... two Things hap-  
... be very prejudicial to

... him much Uneasi-

... Cardinal of *Bourbon*

... endeavouring to ex-

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... with the Catholick

... for treating with the

... Cardinal *Lenoncour*

... whole Intrigue, the

... prevented before

... execute them.

... that Siege that the

... *Landrian* into

... of Excommunication

... as Adherents. Which

... favourable Opportunity

... Reformed Subjects

... to provoke the Par-

... the Chamber sitting at

... Court of Rome.

... Member of the

... declared by a De-

... the Bulls of the Pope

... seditious,

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... and Councils, and to the

... Liberties of the *Gallian* Church;

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... burnt by the common Executioner: That *Land-*

*driano*

## BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 83

who should be seized, 10000 Livres offered Henry IV. whomsoever should bring him to justice, for-<sup>1591.</sup> giving all the King's Subjects to receive him; Pope Gregory XIV. to keep any Correspondence at all with him.

The King having missed *La Fere*, taken *Muviers*, received *Chateau-Gaillard* by Composition, and got some other Advantages over the *League*, came to *Mantes* by the middle of June; he held there an extraordinary Council, wherein he had called some of the Members of the Parliament of *Tours*, and of the Chamber of *Chartres*, to deliberate upon the Proceedings of the Court of *Rome*, and having heard their Opinions, he gave a Declaration, which was sent to *Tours*.

But the Parliament went much further than the King had gone; nay, than the Chamber of *Chartres* itself: for they declared Pope Gregory an Enemy to the Peace and Union of the Church, an Enemy to the King and State, adhering to the *Spanish* Conspiracy, Abettor of Rebels, and Accomplice of the Regicide perpetrated upon the late King. The Parliament of Tours went further.

But the Parliament of *Paris* reversed that Sentence, as given by People not authorised, Schismatics and Hereticks, Enemies of God, Destroyers of his Church; ordered that it should be torn during the Audience, and the Fragments thereof burnt upon the Marble Table by the common Executioner.

The King, in the same Council at *Mantes*, XLIX. improved the present Opportunity for procuring to his Subjects of the Reformed Religion the Satisfaction they longed after. He set forth in a moving Speech the sad Condition they were in, the Danger of provoking them any longer, consequently the Necessity of relieving them. The King's Edict in behalf of the Reformed.

Henry IV. litician, as poor *St. Genevieve* had been, for having suffered the Town of *St. Denis* to be taken by the *BEARNESE* the very Day of her Feast, and a thousand other Pranks more extravagant one than another (*t*).

1591.  
Pope Gre-  
gory XIV.  
XLVII.  
*The King's  
Perplexi-  
ties.*

During this long Siege two Things happened, which were like to be very prejudicial to the King's Affairs, and gave him much Uneasiness. First, The young Cardinal of *Bourbon* took that Opportunity for endeavouring to execute his ambitious Designs of obtaining the Crown for himself; for which purpose he tampered as much as he could with the Catholick Lords, and sent to *Rome* for treating with the Pope about that Affair: But Cardinal *Lenoncour* opened to the King the whole Intrigue, the Effects whereof were happily prevented before he had time enough to execute them.

XLVIII.  
*The Pope  
excommu-  
nicates the  
King and  
his Ad-  
herents.*

Secondly, It was during that Siege that the Pope sent his Referendary *Marsilio Landriano* into *France* to publish his Bull of Excommunication against the King and all his Adherents. Which served only to afford a favourable Opportunity to the King for granting his Reformed Subjects their just Petitions; and to provoke the Parliament of *Tours*, and the Chamber sitting at *Chaalons* against the Court of *Rome*.

*The Pope's  
Bull con-  
demned at  
Chaalons.*

The Chamber of *Chaalons*, Member of the Parliament sitting at *Tours*, declared by a Decree of the 10th of *June*, the Bulls of the Pope void and null, as abusive, scandalous, seditious, full of Impostures, contrary to the holy Decrees, Canons and Councils, and to the Rights and Liberties of the *Gallican Church*; ordered that they should be torn in pieces and burnt by the common Executioner: That *Landriano*

(*t*) L'Etoile Mem. pour servir a l'Hist. de *France*, Tom. II. p. 33—38.

*driano* should be seized, 10000 Livres offered Henry IV. to whomsoever should bring him to justice, for-<sup>1591.</sup> bidding all the King's Subjects to receive him; <sup>Pope Gre-</sup> or to keep any Correspondence at all with <sup>gory XIV.</sup> *Rome.*

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Henry IV. in their Distress as far as the present Circumstances of Times could allow it. Then he proposed the repealing of all the Edicts published against them by the late King, since the Year 1585 inclusive, and restoring them to the full Enjoyment of the Edict of Peace granted by the same King in 1577, with the Additions and Constructions given at *Flex* and *Nerac*, at least till God in his Mercy should have put him in a condition of re-uniting his Subjects in the Pale of the Church, by the Determination of a free General or National Council. Every one applauded that Proposition, the young Cardinal of *Bourbon* excepted, who, out of an unreasonable Zeal either real or pretended, got up stammering in a passion, and feigned to go out of the Assembly; but far from being supported, he provoked them to laugh, and the King seeing that no body took his part, and that the Archbishop of *Boarges*, the Bishops of *Nantes*, of *Maillezés*, of *Bayeux*, nor any other of the Bench of the Bishops did follow him, he recalled him, and desired him to sit again. Then a new Edict having been drawn up accordingly, *James Augustus Thuanus*, the Historian; who was present at that Deliberation, was charged to carry the two Edicts, that against the *Legate*, and that in behalf of the Reformed, to the Parliament at *Tours*, in order to be read and registered there, which was done on the 5th and 6th of *August*, and three Days after in the Chamber of Accounts (v).

L.  
*Assembly  
 of the Clergy  
 at  
 Mantes.*

The King had exhorted the Bishops, that attended the Court at *Mantes*, to provide for themselves and the rest of the Clergy, lest they should be Sufferers by the *Pope's* Bulls lately published; for which purpose they held an Assembly

(v) Thuan. lib. ci. p. 162, 163, 164.

bly in that City, while the King was at Com- Henry IV.  
*piagne* making the necessary Preparations for the <sup>1591.</sup>  
 Siege of *Noyons*. But the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, <sup>Pope Gre-</sup>  
 Head of the third Party as above said, betrayed a <sup>gory XIV.</sup>  
 great Weakness of Mind on this Occasion, by his  
 putting off the Conclusion from Day to Day, till  
 at last the Duke of *Mayenne* made an Attempt  
 upon that City in the night time, which proved  
 fruitless, thro' the Care and Diligence of *Mor-*  
*nay De Bubi* Lieutenant of *D'O*; the said Car-  
 dinal was much suspected of having a hand in  
 that Attempt: however the said Assembly was  
 transferred to *Chartres*, for greater Security. *Transfer-*  
 But far from endeavouring to repress the Pope's <sup>red to</sup>  
 Audaciousness, or to support the Honour of <sup>Chartres.</sup>  
 the *Crown*, the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*,  
 and to help the *King* to extricate himself out of  
 his Troubles; they carried their Audaciousness  
 almost as far as the Pope himself; they en-  
 croached upon the Rights and Prerogatives of  
 the Parliament, and they entangled his Majes-  
 ty in a world of Difficulties: a Sketch of their  
 Resolutions and the Propositions made by them  
 in consequence thereof, with *Du Plessis's* Re-  
 marks upon each, will evince what I say.

1. *That the Pope's Excommunication shall be*  
*deemed void, and the Pope not acknowledged*  
*therein.* <sup>LI.</sup>  
<sup>Resolutions</sup>  
<sup>of the said</sup>  
<sup>Assembly.</sup>

Because the Clergy adhering to the King,  
 were nearly concerned therein, as being ex-  
 communicated; but the Lay-Men were only  
 admonished by the same Bull.

2. *That the King shall be besought to grant them*  
*leave to write to the Pope, and to send some De-*  
*puties to his Holiness.*

Nay, they named these Deputies without  
 waiting for his Majesty's Answer, contrary to  
 the Decree of the Parliament, whereby it was  
 forbidden.

Henry IV. forbidden to send to *Rome* upon any account  
 1591. soever, which Decree was no less obligatory  
 Pope Gre- to the Clergy than to the Lay-men. Such a  
 gory XIV. Behaviour occasions his Majesty's Subjects to  
 question his own Authority, and that Diversity and Contradiction of Opinions trouble the Consciences of the Catholicks.

3. *That in the meanwhile the Order which ought to be settled for the Provision of Benefices shall be superseded.*

That being the only point whereupon they were to attend, and for which they had obtained leave to assemble; they ought to presuppose according to the Parliament's Decree, that the *Pope* had no longer any Power in *France* as to that.

4. *That the Court of Parliament shall be interdicted and forbidden to take any Cognizance of that Affair, or of any thing that relates to it.*

But that is to deprive the Parliament of a Right and an Authority which they have enjoyed time out of mind, to take Cognizance, exclusive of all other Courts, either Civil or Ecclesiastical, of all the Differences arising from time to time betwixt the Kings and the Popes, concerning the pretended Power of these, and the Privileges of the Kingdom. It is, not only to abrogate what the Parliament has enacted now for the Support of the King's Authority, but whatever they can do for the future to the same end.

5. *That the King shall be besought to turn Catholick, and be instructed.*

It is for that very purpose that all the foregoing Articles are drawn up, viz. to the end that his Majesty not humouring them, there should be no Parliament for deciding that every Man is bound to obey his Prince, notwithstanding

ing any Pretence soever of Heresy ; according- Henry IV.  
ly some of them went much further in the said 1591.  
Assembly ; for they said, that his Majesty Pope Gre-  
ought to be compelled to turn Catholick, or gory XIV.  
else they could no longer serve him in good  
Conscience. That is the true Foundation of  
that pretended Chimæra, THE THIRD PAR-  
TY, which indeed subsists only to this day, in  
the whimsical Fancy of Men ; and which, how-  
ever, must not be neglected, because the Fancy  
only sometimes works out something.

6. *That the King shall be desired to grant that the said Assembly of the Clergy should interpose for making Peace.*

Just as if the King did not mind enough his own and his People's Rest and Quietness, and let slip the Opportunity of procuring it ; just as if his Majesty had not always said, that for one Step that his Enemies should make towards him for that purpose, he would make four ; just as if the Lords, the Officers of the Crown, and State Counsellors that were near his Person wanted sufficient Abilities for that purpose ; just as if the Clergy, who suffer the least, were more concerned therein, than the Nobility that shed their Blood, and the Commons that exhaust their Substance in the pursuit of this War. But their Intention is very plain, they want to be Arbiters that they might re-unite all the Catholicks, as much as they can, under the same pretence, for offering Violence to his Majesty as to his Religion, whenever they shall think proper. Which presupposes likewise some Underdealings and Intelligencies with the Enemies, quite intolerable. For if they have none, why ! what can they do in that Business better than others ? And if they know therein any thing better than others, why did they not

Henry IV. one, he was without any further delay admitted into that Employment. The King afterwards bestowed upon him the Abby of *Bello-*  
1591.  
Pope Gre-  
gory XIV.*sane*, and was so well acquainted with the bright Parts of that Abbot, that he sent him his Embassador to the Council of *Trent*, for protesting against it. He remained in the same Condition he was in without any further Advancement till *Charles IX.* But one day at the King's Dinner, as the Discourse ran upon *Charles V.* that Emperor was commended upon several accounts, especially for having raised his Tutor *Adrian VI.* to be *Pope*. As every one magnified that Piece of Gratitude, King *Charles* said, that he would do the same for his own Tutor, (who was obliged to be present whenever his Majesty sat at Table) if ever Occasion was offered unto him. A little time after the great Almonry became vacant, and *Charles* offered it to *Amiot*, who out of Humility declined it at first; but the King insisted, saying, that it was not all that he intended to do for him. The Queen Mother, who had promised that Preferment to some other, understanding that the King had disposed thereof in behalf of his Tutor, sent for *Amiot* in her own Closet, and told him in a rage, *I have made the GUISES and the CHASTILLONS, the CONSTABLES and the CHANCELLORS, the Kings of NAVARRE and the Princes of CONDE buckle to me, and you, SORRY PRIEST, shall I meet you in my way?* *Amiot* was Thunder-struck at these Words, in vain did he endeavour to excuse himself, the imperious Queen silenced him with this Threatning, that in twenty four Hours he would be a dead Man if he accepted. *Amiot* found no better means for extricating himself out of this Trouble than by hiding himself in some secret Place

where he could not be found. Three Days af- Henry IV.  
ter *Amiot* not appearing as usual when the King 1591.  
sat at Table, his Majesty asked what was be- Pope Gre-  
come of him? and commanded to look for him. gory XIV.  
till he could be found. But that Search was in-  
vain. At last the King suspecting how it was,  
*What, says he, because I have made him Great*  
*Almoner, he has been taken away!* Whereupon  
he flew into such a violent Passion, that the  
Queen Mother dreading the Consequences there-  
of, caused *Amiot* to be inquired for with all  
Diligence possible, and till he could be found out  
at any rate, giving unto him all the Securities  
he could desire. Some time after he was promo-  
ted to the See of *Auxerre*. He is charged with  
a sordid Avarice, *Charles IX.* upbraided him  
for it one day, and told him in a Banter, *that*  
*the Neats Tongues whereupon he fed, put People*  
*in remembrance that he was Son to a Butcher.*  
But the worst thing wherewith he was charged,  
was a black Ungratefulness towards the Kings his  
good Pupils; for it is said, that living constant-  
ly in his Diocese, whether because of his Infir-  
mities, or because he thought himself in Duty  
bound to reside, he was too complaisant for the  
Inhabitants, and connived at their Rebellion a-  
gainst their Sovereign. However, he died in  
the sixty-first Year of his Age, and was, and  
has been renowned amongst the Learned for his  
Translations of the *Æthiopicks* or the Romance  
of *Theagenes* and *Chariclea*, done by the famous  
*Heliodorus* Bishop of *Traca* in *Thracia*, who  
chose to renounce his Bishoprick rather than to  
burn his Book; of *Longus's Poemenicks*; he  
translated afterwards *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* (q).  
The

(q) Thuan. lib. c. p. 139. Teisier Eloge des Hommes  
savans, &c. Tom. II.

Henry IV. The Reformed lost about the same time one  
 1591. of their most renowned Divines, namely, *Anthony of Cbandieu*, descended of the ancient and  
 Pope Gre- noble Family Barons of *Cbandieu* in the Coun-  
 gory XIV. try of *Forest*. Great Mistakes have been made  
 XLV. either about his Age when he was received Mi-  
 De Chan- nister of *Paris*, or about his Age when he was  
 dieu's chosen Moderator of the third National Synod,  
 Death, or when he died. It is granted that he died in  
 some Ac- 1591, in the fifty-seven Year of his Age; now  
 count of how could he be but 23 Years when he presi-  
 him. ded in the third National Synod held at *Orleans*  
 in 1562, as *Aymond* and *Quick* have affirmed  
 positively? *Teissier* will put us in the right, he  
 tells us that in the second Year of his Ministry,  
 he was charged with Heresy, and sent to Goal  
 for it, but was immediately after released by the  
 King of *Navarre's* Orders, who went to the  
*Chastelet* in person, as we have observed in our  
 first Book, pag. 97. That Event fell in the  
 Year 1558, so that he was then twenty-four  
 Years old, and consequently twenty-eight when  
 he presided in the National Synod in 1562.  
 He was in great Esteem and much respected,  
 not only by the Reformed, but even at Court,  
 for his Mien, the Sweetness of his Deportment,  
 his Eloquence and his great Learning; he pub-  
 lished several Treatises upon different Subjects  
 of Divinity, under the Name of *Sadeel* and  
*Tsamariel*, two *Hebrew* Names which answered to  
 that under which he went. It is observable  
 that he received no Salary for his Ministry:  
 Being obliged to leave the Kingdom, to avoid  
 the Danger wherewith he was threatned, he re-  
 tired to *Geneva*, was admitted in the Number  
 of the Pastors of that Church, and died there  
 of a Consumptive Fever (r).

Tho'

(r) Eidem Ibid.

Tho' the Winter was very severe that Year, Henry IV. the King marched to besiege *Chartres*. The Garison was of two hundred Men, but there were 3000 Militia, who being persuaded that they supported the Cause of God and of the *Blessed Virgin*, withstood all the Assaults with an unparalleled Bravery. The Siege was long and bloody, and His Majesty was two or three times upon the point of raising it. But *Cbi-vernny*, who had a private Interest in the taking of that City, because he was Governour of that Country, and had most part of his Estate therein, or thereabout, opposed the King's Resolution; and his Obstinacy was attended with Success, for the City surrendered on the 19th of *April* after having held out for three Months together; which Success was particularly owing to the Bravery and the ingenious Contrivances of the Count of *Coligny* (s).

1591.  
Pope Gre-  
gory XIV.  
XLVI.  
The King  
besieges  
*Chartres*,  
and  
takes it.

It is not to be conceived how far the *Parisians* carried their Extravagancies during this Siege. On the 5th of *March* all the Preachers took for the Subject of their Sermons the History of the *Canaanitish* Woman; it was the Gospel for the Day, and said that that Woman represented the City of *Paris*; her Daughter, that of *Chartres*; the Devil who tormented her was the *BEARNES* who besieged this last City; they exhorted and intreated their Hearers to beseech earnestly the Lord for the Deliverance of that poor City, which was tormented by the Devil. On the 15th of *April* the Faculty of Divinity published a Vow to walk in Procession to *Our Lady's* Church at *Chartres*, if the City was not taken; for if it was taken, her Credit was at an end: She would be deemed a Po-

(s) Mezeray, *Henry IV.* p. 50. *Hist: des Choses memo-*  
*rables*, p. 736.



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XLVIII.  
*The Pope  
excommu-  
nicates the  
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Secondly, It was during that Siege that the *Pope* sent his Referendary *Marfilio Landriano* into *France* to publish his Bull of Excommunication against the King and all his Adherents. Which served only to afford a favourable Opportunity to the King for granting his Reformed Subjects their just Petitions; and to provoke the Parliament of *Tours*, and the Chamber sitting at *Chaalons* against the Court of *Rome*.

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But the Parliament of *Paris* reversed that Sentence, as given by People not authorised, Schismatics and Hereticks, Enemies of God, Destroyers of his Church; ordered that it should be torn during the Audience, and the Fragments thereof burnt upon the Marble Table by the common Executioner.

The King, in the same Council at *Mantes*, XLIX. improved the present Opportunity for procuring to his Subjects of the Reformed Religion the Satisfaction they longed after. He set forth in a moving Speech the sad Condition they were in, the Danger of provoking them any longer, consequently the Necessity of relieving them

Henry IV. in their Distress as far as the present Circumstances of Times could allow it. Then he proposed the repealing of all the Edicts published against them by the late King, since the Year 1585 inclusive, and restoring them to the full Enjoyment of the Edict of Peace granted by the same King in 1577, with the Additions and Constructions given at *Flex* and *Nerac*, at least till God in his Mercy should have put him in a condition of re-uniting his Subjects in the Pale of the Church, by the Determination of a free General or National Council. Every one applauded that Proposition, the young Cardinal of *Bourbon* excepted, who, out of an unreasonable Zeal either real or pretended, got up stammering in a passion, and feigned to go out of the Assembly; but far from being supported, he provoked them to laugh, and the King seeing that no body took his part, and that the Archbishop of *Bourges*, the Bishops of *Nantes*, of *Maillezés*, of *Bayeux*, nor any other of the Bench of the Bishops did follow him, he recalled him, and desired him to sit again. Then a new Edict having been drawn up accordingly, *James Augustus Thuanus*, the Historian; who was present at that Deliberation, was charged to carry the two Edicts, that against the *Legate*, and that in behalf of the Reformed, to the Parliament at *Tours*, in order to be read and registered there, which was done on the 5th and 6th of *August*, and three Days after in the Chamber of Accounts (v).

L.  
Assembly  
of the Clergy  
at  
Mantes.

The King had exhorted the Bishops, that attended the Court at *Mantes*, to provide for themselves and the rest of the Clergy, lest they should be Sufferers by the *Pope's* Bulls lately published; for which purpose they held an Assembly

(v) Thuan. lib. ci. p. 162, 163, 164.

bly in that City, while the King was at Com-Henry IV.  
*piegne* making the necessary Preparations for the <sup>1591.</sup>  
 Siege of *Noyons*. But the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, <sup>Pope Gre-</sup>  
 Head of the third Party as above said, betrayed a <sup>gory XIV.</sup>  
 great Weakness of Mind on this Occasion, by his  
 putting off the Conclusion from Day to Day, till  
 at last the Duke of *Mayenne* made an Attempt  
 upon that City in the night time, which proved  
 fruitless, thro' the Care and Diligence of *Mor-*  
*nay De Bubi* Lieutenant of *D'O*; the said Car-  
 dinal was much suspected of having a hand in  
 that Attempt: however the said Assembly was  
 transferred to *Chartres*, for greater Security. *Transfer-*  
 But far from endeavouring to repress the Pope's <sup>red to</sup>  
 Audaciousness, or to support the Honour of <sup>Chartres.</sup>  
 the *Crown*, the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*,  
 and to help the *King* to extricate himself out of  
 his Troubles; they carried their Audaciousness  
 almost as far as the Pope himself; they en-  
 croached upon the Rights and Prerogatives of  
 the Parliament, and they entangled his Majes-  
 ty in a world of Difficulties: a Sketch of their  
 Resolutions and the Propositions made by them  
 in consequence thereof, with *Du Plessis's* Re-  
 marks upon each, will evince what I say.

1. *That the Pope's Excommunication shall be*  
*deemed void, and the Pope not acknowledged*  
*therein.* LI.  
Resolutions  
of the said  
Assembly.

Because the Clergy adhering to the King,  
 were nearly concerned therein, as being ex-  
 communicated; but the Lay-Men were only  
 admonished by the same Bull.

2. *That the King shall be besought to grant them*  
*leave to write to the Pope, and to send some De-*  
*puties to his Holiness.*

Nay, they named these Deputies without  
 waiting for his Majesty's Answer, contrary to  
 the Decree of the Parliament, whereby it was

Henry IV. forbidden to send to *Rome* upon any account  
 1591. *Pope Gre-* soever, which Decree was no less obligatory  
 gory XIV. to the Clergy than to the Lay-men. Such a  
 Behaviour occasions his Majesty's Subjects to  
 question his own Authority, and that Diver-  
 sity and Contradiction of Opinions trouble the  
 Consciences of the Catholicks.

3. *That in the mean while the Order which ought to be settled for the Provision of Benefices shall be superseded.*

That being the only point whereupon they were to attend, and for which they had obtained leave to assemble; they ought to presuppose according to the Parliament's Decree, that the *Pope* had no longer any Power in *France* as to that.

4. *That the Court of Parliament shall be interdicted and forbidden to take any Cognizance of that Affair, or of any thing that relates to it.*

But that is to deprive the Parliament of a Right and an Authority which they have enjoyed time out of mind, to take Cognizance, exclusive of all other Courts, either Civil or Ecclesiastical, of all the Differences arising from time to time betwixt the Kings and the Popes, concerning the pretended Power of these, and the Privileges of the Kingdom. It is, not only to abrogate what the Parliament has enacted now for the Support of the King's Authority, but whatever they can do for the future to the same end.

5. *That the King shall be besought to turn Catholick, and be instructed.*

It is for that very purpose that all the foregoing Articles are drawn up, viz. to the end that his Majesty not humouring them, there should be no Parliament for deciding that every Man is bound to obey his Prince, notwithstanding

ing any Pretence soever of Heresy ; according- Henry IV.  
ly some of them went much further in the said 1591.  
Assembly ; for they said, that his Majesty Pope Gre-  
ought to be compelled to turn Catholick, or gory XIV.  
else they could no longer serve him in good  
Conscience. That is the true Foundation of  
that pretended Chimæra, THE THIRD PAR-  
TY, which indeed subsists only to this day, in  
the whimsical Fancy of Men ; and which, how-  
ever, must not be neglected, because the Fancy  
only sometimes works out something.

6. *That the King shall be desired to grant that the said Assembly of the Clergy should interpose for making Peace.*

Just as if the King did not mind enough his own and his People's Rest and Quietness, and let slip the Opportunity of procuring it ; just as if his Majesty had not always said, that for one Step that his Enemies should make towards him for that purpose, he would make four ; just as if the Lords, the Officers of the Crown, and State Counsellors that were near his Person wanted sufficient Abilities for that purpose ; just as if the Clergy, who suffer the least, were more concerned therein, than the Nobility that shed their Blood, and the Commons that exhaust their Substance in the pursuit of this War. But their Intention is very plain, they want to be Arbiters that they might re-unite all the Catholicks, as much as they can, under the same pretence, for offering Violence to his Majesty as to his Religion, whenever they shall think proper. Which presupposes likewise some Underdealings and Intelligencies with the Enemies, quite intolerable. For if they have none, why ! what can they do in that Business better than others ? And if they know therein any thing better than others, why did they not lay

Henry IV lay it open before his Majesty that he might improve their Light, seeing that they have a very free access to him, nay, some of them are chief Members of his Privy Council.

1591.  
Pope Gre-  
gory XIV.

It must be added that while that Assembly sat at *Chartres* the Decree of the Parliament against the *Pope*, his *Bull*, and *Landriano*, Bearer thereof, could not be published in that City; nay, they sent positive Orders to the Lieutenant General not to do it; whereof the Parliament doth complain the more justly, in as much as their Decree ought to have been published chiefly there, where the King's Council reside.

It is very observable that the King's faithful Servants, making the greatest Number in that Assembly, they would have carried their point by a Majority of Votes, to prevent which, the Heads of the contrary Party thought proper to admit the voting by Proxy, so that a single Person voted for six or seven Absentees; tho' in Assemblies of that nature wherein they had to deliberate upon Affairs of so great Importance, and whereupon they ought to receive Instruction and Light one of another, Proxies cannot be admitted: for it is plain that in such a case wherein every body is concerned, one may alter or reform his own Opinion, and model it upon another's, whereas a Procuration is mute, incapable of giving or receiving any Instruction.

Moreover, the Decree of the Parliament having been brought forth, they said that they had no Value for it, as being done in an Assembly wherein 26 Hereticks had a Right to vote. And nevertheless several Members of that Court were in the Orders, (they call them in *French*, *Conseillers Clercs*;) they added that  
the

the Canons of *St. Martin at Tours* had deputed Henry IV.  
an Heretick, so they stiled Mr. *De St. Fuscian* <sup>1591.</sup>  
Counsellor Clerk, Brother to the late Mr. *D'Es-* <sup>Pope Gre-</sup>  
*peffes*, Canon of *Our Lady's Church at Paris.* <sup>gory XIV.</sup>

Furthermore, all the Archbishops and Bishops sent word to all the Curates of their respective Dioceses and Provinces; that they praised God for the good Success of their Assemblies, that the *Holy Ghost* had presided therein, to the Preservation and Welfare of the *Catbolick, Apostolick and Roman Church*; they sent to them the Articles above mentioned, whereby many scrupulous People were troubled in their own Conscience, and distracted from their Allegiance to the King, questioning what is unquestionable, *That the King holds his Authority from God, and not from the Pope* (u).

*Du Pleffis* was hard at work to prevent the Mischief that would have resulted from that bold Attempt of the Clergy, had they had the desired Success. He not only sent the above-mentioned Observations to the King, but he sent likewise a Memorial very full upon the same Subject to the Parliament of *Tours*, who received and read it with a great deal of Satisfaction. They desired him to come into that City, and to concur with them for finding ways and means of frustrating the ambitious Designs of the Clergy. Which he did, and it was agreed to advise His Majesty to protract the time as much as he could for answering their Demands, and when he could not delay any longer, to answer them in such a manner that they might understand how little pleased he was with their Proceedings and Petitions.

Accordingly

(u) *Memoires de Du Pleffis*, Tom. II. p. 117—121.



Henry IV. Accordingly, when the Cardinal of *Bourbon*  
 1590. attended by the Bishops of *Beauvais, Mans, An-*  
*Pope Gre-* gers, &c. came on the 18th of *December* to de-  
 gory XIV. fire his Majesty to answer the three Articles  
 proposed unto him by their Assembly, viz. (1) to turn Catholick; (2) to consent that the Clergy should interpose in making Peace; (3) that they might depute to the *Pope*; he answered as to the first,

LII. That he was always ready to receive Instruc-  
*The King's* tion, that he prayed God every day to en-  
*Answer.* lighten him, if he was in the wrong; and was in hopes that he would give him grace to put an end to the Controversies in the Church, whenever he shall be at rest: Which would be much more honourable and commendable, than to depart alone from a Religion wherein he was born and had been brought up. But that since his Accession to the Crown, it had been his Misfortune to be continually, as he was still, distracted by the Business of the War, which gave him no respite; and that in truth, the Canons of the Church could not be well hearkened to amidst the noise of the Cannons of an Arsenal. Nevertheless, that he will always maintain the Clergy in every thing he had promised them, and that he would not do nor suffer to be done any thing contrary to it.

As to the second, That God and Men may witness the Truth, that he desired nothing more than Peace; and had let slip no occasion for obtaining it, even he had oftentimes taken the Shadow thereof for the Reality; that he did not mince it, as some who scrupled to speak the first, lest they should prejudice their own Affairs; contrariwise he shall be always before-hand, and shall look upon any Overture of Peace as a special Favour of God. And those

those who thought otherwise of him, wronged Henry I<sup>1591.</sup> him much, and took him not only for a bad Pope Gregory XI Prince, but for a Dunce, since it was certain that no body was so deeply concerned therein as he was, considering that he would be a Loser in the War, one whose House is in flames; and who could not be a King, but as he was in Peace with his Subjects; whereas during the War, he was no better than Captain-General of the *French*, every one encroaching as much as he could upon Royal Authority.

As to the third, He told them, that it was an Affair of State very important, and not an ecclesiastical one only. That the late Pope (*he meant Gregory XIV. who was dead when he delivered this Answer*) had not dealt with him and the Kingdom as a common Father, as he ought, but as a foreign Prince and an Enemy. That the present Pope, (*Innocent IX.*) had gone on and sent the Army, which the last had raised, for the same purpose, and promised to recruit it with Men and Money, as it was plain by his intercepted Letters. That his Reputation was concerned not to suffer his Subjects to go and court him at *Rome*, while he did him all the harm he could. Besides that the Resolutions of his Parliaments differed widely from the Clergy's, the first forbidding expressly to send to *Rome* upon any account soever; That he had sent for the first Presidents of his Parliaments of *Paris* and *Rouën* sitting at *Tours* and *Louviers*, that he might know their Advice thereupon. And whereas the Duke of *Parma* was entering the Kingdom with his Army, several Princes and Officers of the Crown, Lords and Knights of the Realm, would not fail to join with him, (the King;) and that the  
more

Henry IV. more weighty the Affair was, the more it required to be debated in the most solemn Assembly. Therefore he advised them to repair in the mean while to their respective Dioceses, there to serve God and their King, &c.

<sup>1591.</sup>  
Pope Gre-  
gory XIV

The Cardinal of *Bourbon* gave several Assurances of his own and the whole Clergy's Obedience and Affection, the Bishop of *Mans* did the same; they insisted again upon the Embassy to *Rome*; but His Majesty stood his ground. The said Cardinal then took his leave of His Majesty that same Morning, and went to *Gailon* for *Christmas Holidays*, from whence he returned to the King then besieging *Rouën* (x).

These Transactions, which I chuse to relate all in a Thread, shew forth plainly the Spirit of the *Roman* Clergy, and how ready they are to sacrifice the Honour of the Crown, and the Liberties of the Subjects, to the vile Passions of the Court of *Rome*.

LIII.  
*The Duke  
of Guise's  
Escape.*

During these Assemblies of the Clergy, the young Duke of *Guise* made his Escape out of the Tower of *Tours*, where he had been closely confined since the Death of his Father at *Blois*. It is said that the King had connived at it, in order to create greater Jealousies amongst the Heads of the Leaguers, not questioning in the least but the sight of that Prince would revive in his behalf the former Inclinations the People had had for his Father; and indeed if such was the King's Design, and if he had any hand at all in that Escape, he was not deceived in his Expectation. Bonfires and other Demonstrations of Joy were seen in all Places holding for the *League* throughout the Kingdom, as soon as the News of his Liberty came to be known; the

(x) Mem. de Du Plessis Mornay, Tom. II. p. 126, 27, 28. 131, 2, 3.

the *Pope* went in Procession to *St. Lewis's* Henry I Church at *Rome* to give thanks to God for that happy Deliverance, and we shall see in its proper Place that nothing forwarded so much the King's Interest as the Jealousies between the Duke of *Mayenne* and that of *Guise* his Nephew.

The Prince of *Dombes* Son to the Duke of *Montpensier* was obliged to raise the Siege of *Lamballe* in *Britanny*, which had lasted 25 Days; the Lord of *La Nouë* died of a Wound he had received in it, equally regretted by Foes and Friends, as we have said in our third Volume and first Part, pag. 267. But a few days after the same Prince routed the Duke of *Merceur's* Cavalry.

On the 17th of *August* the King took *Noyon*, in *Picardy* in the Duke of *Mayenne's* fight. Three Bodies of Troops which he had sent to relieve that Place were totally routed.

On the other hand, the Lord of *Les Diguieres* performed Wonders in *Dauphiné* and *Provence*, he routed the Duke of *Savoy* in two pitched Battles, the first at *St. Martin of Pallieres*, or *Sparron* according to others, because the Rear of the Enemy's Army was lodged in the first Place, and their Van in the second, where the Duke lost about 600 Horse, almost all his Infantry, with most part of his Cannon and Baggage. The second Battle was near *Pont-Cbarra*, the 6th or 7th of *September*; the Enemy was twice the Number of *Les Diguieres*, nevertheless they were totally routed, and lost about 5000 Men, slain on the spot, 900 Prisoners, 32 Pair of Colours, one Standard, a Cornet, and their Artillery; the Booty was very great, it amounted to above 200000 Crowns, which were divided equally amongst the Soldiers; the Royalists had but 40 Men slain, and very few wounded.

1591  
Pope Gregory XI

LIV  
Glorious  
Feats of  
Les Diguieres.

Henry IV. all the Princes of the Blood, and had forced all the Recusants to quit the City, amongst whom was their own Bishop, Cardinal of *Gondy*. For being absolute Masters of *Paris*, they wanted only to be rid of a part of the Parliament, who watched over them Night and Day, and thwarted their wicked Designs. They succeeded in their Attempt, but it cost them very dear, even the loss of the Lives of several of them, and the utter Extinction of their Authority.

1591.  
*Pope* Inno-  
 cent IX.

The Parliament had acquitted one *Brigard*, whom the *Sixteen* had impeached for keeping Correspondence with the Royalists: the most passionate amongst them resolved to be dreadfully revenged upon some of the Heads of the Parliament, who had exerted themselves most in behalf of the Prisoner; for which purpose they created a secret Council of ten, which they chose amongst themselves, who were to have the Direction of the most important Affairs. That Council thought proper to dispatch out of the World, President *Briffon*, Counsellors *Larcher* and *Tardif*. They attempted at first to have them murdered by some Assassines, but having missed their end, the Plot having been revealed by the Assassines themselves, they resolved to act more openly. Accordingly they drew up a Sentence of Death against those three, wherewith they filled up a Blank, wherein they had procured, upon some other pretence, the Signatures of several notable Citizens. Which done, they seized them in several Places, and brought them to the little *Chastelet*, where they strangled them all, and the next Night they caused their Bodies to be carried to the *Greve*, where they remained hanging for two Days. They had expected that the People would have approved

*President*  
*Briffon*  
*and two*  
*Counsellors*  
*hanged at*  
*Paris.*

approved their Inhumanity, for which purpose they had spread many false Reports to blacken the deceased's Memory; but when they understood that such a sight worked out Compassion and Pity in their Hearts rather than Indignation, they began to be sensible of the Odiousness of their Crime, and to dread the Consequences thereof. Therefore some of them were for arresting the Duchess of Nemours, Mother to the Duke of Mayenne, that she might be a Pledge against her own Son's Resentment; others had a mind to complete the Tragedy, and to murder the said Duke if he ventured to come to *Paris*, and then to elect another Chief of their own, that should be entirely their Dependant. But their Hearts failed them, and having perpetrated a Crime without Necessity, they knew not how to commit a second which was necessary for covering the first.

Henry IV.  
1592.  
Pope Innocent IX.

The Parliament, the Princesses, the Royalists themselves, feigned to be zealous Leaguers, and warmly insisted with the Duke, who was then at *Laon*, to come to *Paris* to deliver them from that Tyranny: but he did not think proper to yield so soon to their Importunities; he supposed that the *Sixteen* would not have attempted such a horrible Crime, were they not strongly supported by the *Spaniards* and the Duke of Guise, and was afraid lest their Cabal should be powerful enough to exclude him. However, understanding they wanted Courage, and that no body was stirring for their Support, (at least openly) he took with him 300 Horse and 1500 Foot, and marched directly to *Paris*.

He was met by a Company of them headed by Boucher Curate of *St. Benoist*, who was to speak for them, but he proceeded further without giving them Audience. Another Company

Henry IV. met him, and deliberated to murder him, nay, <sup>1592.</sup> one of them offered his Services for that purpose, but was not accepted. When the Duke <sup>Pope Innocent IX.</sup> had informed himself about the State of Affairs at *Paris*, he sent Orders to *Bussy Le Clerc* to resign unto him the Government of *Bastille*: that *Hector* had not Resolution enough either to offer to defend himself, or to declare for the King, he compounded with the Duke, and nevertheless he went out with Drums beating, and Colours flying; but he took no care to secure a Place of Safety, and went to lodge with all his Booty in *St. Anthony's Street*.

*Four of the SIXTEEN hanged at Paris.* Few Days after, when the *Sixteen* thought themselves very safe, having understood that the Parliament did not dare to enter an Action against them, the Duke on a sudden drew up with his own hand a Sentence of Death against nine of the most guilty amongst them, and sent in the Night between the 3d and 4th of *December* to arrest them. Only four of them could be apprehended, namely, *Anroux*, *Emmonet*, *Ameline*, and *Louchard*; they were brought into the *Louvre*, and instantly hanged on a Gibbet erected for that purpose, by the Common Hangman; the five others took to flight, and after having remained concealed for some Days, they retired into the *Low Countries*. As to *Bussy*, one of them, he narrowly escaped, but he could not carry off any thing of all the Booty which he had got by Plunder, and other wicked Means. He went to *Bruxelles* with his Wife, where he lived to a very great Age, for he was alive in the Year 1634.

As to the other seven which remained out of the *Sixteen*, the Duke willing to put a Blur upon them, sent a Deed of Abolition of their past Crimes, to be read and published in the Parliament;

Parliament; and whereas he knew that all the <sup>Henry IV.</sup> Mischiefs they had done proceeded from their secret Assemblies, he forbid the same on pain <sup>1592.</sup> of death, and the razing the House wherein they <sup>Pope Innocent IX.</sup> should meet together. So that potent Faction, who had so much beloved the Duke of *Guise*, and had almost raised him to the Throne, was in an Instant dishonoured and almost subverted by his own Brother. Which was indeed a lucky Event for the King, with whom it was impossible that they should ever agree.

The Duke wrote to all the Governours of Provinces to justify his Proceedings, and to render that Faction detestable; and in order to keep the said Governours more strictly united to him, he obliged them to swear that they would never forsake him; that they would never support the Election of a King without his Consent; that they would approve of any Treaty he should make with any body soever, and that they would keep no private Correspondence with the *Spaniards*. At the same time, the Parliament of *Paris* being wholly destitute of Presidents, he created four new ones, which he took to be better affected to his Person and Administration; but this proved to be his Ruin (b).

We have said, that at Queen *Elizabeth's* In- LVIII. stances the King had sent the Marshal of *Biron* <sup>Siege of</sup> to surround *Rouën*. That City was very well <sup>Rouën.</sup> provided with every Thing, well fortified, and fully resolved to hold out to the last extremity, the King arrived at his Camp before that Place on the 1st of *December*. On the 31st of *October* the Troops, which Queen *Elizabeth*

(b) L'Etoile Mem. pour servir a l'Hist de France, Tom. II. p. 55, &c. He was then at *Paris* when these things happened. De Serres Invent. de l'Hist. de France Tom. II. p. 16. D'Avila and D'Aubigné say almost the same, but Thuan. lib. cii. differs a little from them all.



Henry IV. sent to the King's Assistance on account of that  
 1591. Siege, had landed at *Bologne*, consisting of  
 Pope Inno- 600 Horse, and 2500 Foot under the Com-  
 cent IX. mand of the Earl of *Essex*. They were receiv'd  
 by the Duke of *Longueville*, and having joined  
 the King's Army on the 10th of *November*,  
 they began the Siege on *St. Martin's Day*;  
 the *English* had storm'd a little before a Gate  
 of *Rouën* called *La Porte Cauchaise*; wherein  
*Edward Devereux* Nephew to the Earl was  
 slain (c). I shall not enter into the Particulars  
 of

(c) *Tindal* says that it was *Walter* Brother to the Earl,  
 and he quotes *Stow*, p. 762. *Rapin's History of England*,  
 Tom. II. fol. p. 140. the Note. There are several mis-  
 takes in *Rapin's* Relation of the State of Affairs in *France*  
 at that Time; as when he says that *Sixtus V.* supported the  
 Designs of *Spain* upon *France* to the utmost of his Power,  
 pag. 139. that is utterly false, he died much embittered a-  
 gainst the Court of *Spain* and the Leaguers. In the same  
 Paragraph, he charges our *Henry* with Insincerity in his  
 Dealings with *Queen Elizabeth*, and speaks of him, just  
 as if he had designedly laid a snare for her Majesty; in-  
 deed either *Rapin* knew little of *Henry's* Character, or he  
 was very little acquainted with his Circumstances at that  
 time. No Prince in the World had been more strict to his  
 Word; that was his favourite, and most conspicuous Vir-  
 tue, acknowledged even by his greatest Enemies: but  
 then it was not always in his power to perform what he had  
 thought before he should be able to perform; especially at  
 the Time we are speaking of, when his Designs were so  
 many times thwarted not only by his Enemies, but by his  
 greedy Courtiers. In another Paragraph of the same Page,  
 he says, that when the Earl landed in *France* with the  
 Supply, the King was employed before *Noyon*. But ac-  
 cording to *Tbuanus*, *Noyon* was surrendered before the 26th  
 of *September*, and the Earl landed but the 31st of *October*  
 following, at *Boloign*. Finally, *Rapin* says in the same Page,  
 that the Earl went to *France* for the second time, contrary  
 to the Queen's express Orders. To be sure it was against  
 her own Inclination, but not against her express Orders,  
 that cannot be, since she gave him leave to take a Regi-  
 ment of the old Troops in *Flanders*; and *Rapin* would have  
 done better to have been silent upon that point, or to lay  
 full open the true Motives of that great Queen's Behaviour  
 on this Occasion, than to asperse the Character of King  
*Henry* without the least Foundation.

of that memorable Siege, but only take notice Henry IV. of some of the most remarkable Transactions, while it lasted.

1592.  
Pope Inno-  
cent IX.

Pope *Innocent*, the great Support of the *League*, who had promised them fifty thousand Crowns a Month for six Months time, as soon as the Duke of *Parma* should have entered the Kingdom with his Army, died on the 29th of *December* in the seventy-second Year of his Age, having held the See but two Months. Cardinal *Hyppolite Aldobrandini* was elected on the 30th of *January* after, and took the Name of *Clement VIII*,

LIX.

Innocent's  
Death, and  
succeeded  
by Cle-  
ment VIII.

The King being arrived before *Rouën*, had summoned that City to surrender, for which purpose he had sent a Trumpet to the Mayor with a Letter exhorting them to improve the present Opportunity for experiencing his Clemency, and not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the *Spaniards* and others, Enemies of the State; nor to believe what they falsely published, that he intended to extirpate the Catholic Religion, that such Calumnies were furnished only to distract them from their true Interest, and to gratify more easily their own Ambition, after having destroyed them one by another; that they ought rather to consider how those who had submitted themselves had been dealt with, and put themselves in a Condition of receiving of him the like Favours. Otherwise they would force him to make use of the most severe Methods, &c.

LX.

The King  
summons  
Rouën, but  
in vain.

But far from hearkening to the King's Exhortations, they sent him the most impudent Letter that could be written; nay, whereas some Officers and some Citizens were discovered keeping Correspondence with his Majesty, after having put them to death, the Parliament

Henry IV. published a Decree on the 7th of *January* for-  
 bidding on pain of death every one of what  
 Rank and Quality soever to favour in any wise  
 the Party of *Henry of Bourbon*; ordering them  
 to desist instantly, commanding Gibbets should  
 be erected in the publick Places of that City,  
 there to hang and strangle without any other  
 form of Tryal whomsoever shall be found plot-  
 ting against their own Country, and 2000  
 Crowns are promised to the Informers thereof,  
 and forgiveness of their Crimes if they have  
 been Accomplices therein. The Oath of U-  
 nion taken on the 12th of *January* 1589, shall  
 be renewed every Month, &c. injoining ex-  
 pressly all the Inhabitants to obey all the Com-  
 mands of the Lord of *Villars*, Deputy Gover-  
 nour of my Lord *Henry of Lorraine*, in all  
 things concerning the Preservation of this City,  
 &c. The same Parliament had given hereto-  
 fore several like Instances of their Rebellion  
 during the Life of *Henry III.* and after his death,  
 and had executed several Officers in the King's  
 Party, tho' they were Prisoners of War.

Secondly, The King having certain Advice  
 that the Duke of *Parma* was entering into  
*France* with his Army, sent *Launoy* to demand  
 a new Supply of 5000 Men of Queen *Eliza-  
 beth*, the Troops which he had sent before,  
 being extremely diminished by Sickness or o-  
 therwise. About the same time the Earl of *Es-  
 sex*, knowing that the King was arrived before  
*Rouën*, was gone over to be present at that Siege,  
 he went much against the Queen's Will; in or-  
 der to deter him from the Voyage, her Majesty  
 refused him to raise any new Levies in *Eng-  
 land*, but had given him leave to take a Regi-  
 ment out of the old Regiments in Garison in  
*Flanders*, which was paid upon the footing  
 of

of 1000 Men, tho' there was not above 700 <sup>Henry IV.</sup> effective, but all of them old brave Soldiers in a <sup>1592.</sup> very good Condition. The Queen was so dis- <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> pleased with the Earl's Absence, that she returned <sup>ment VIII.</sup> a very rough Answer to the *French* Ambassador, (*Beauvais La Nocle*) who presented *Launoy's* Memorial to her Majesty, and flatly denied the demanded Supply. The King understanding that *Parma* was actually in full March, sent *Miremont* one of his Chaplains, and some Days after *Du Plessis Mornay*, to her Majesty; he landed at *Rye*, where he met *Miremont* returning into *France* without any Success.

*Du Plessis* arrived at *London* the 4th of *January* N. S. he had his first Audience on the 6th, being accompanied with the Ambassador in ordinary, having told the Queen his Business, she betrayed too great a fondness for the Earl of *Essex*, which blinded her so much at that time, that she was insensible of her own true Interest, her Threatnings against him were most terrible, and notwithstanding the strong Remonstrances of *Du Plessis*, and of her own Ministers of State, after the third Audience, he was obliged to return without obtaining any thing; but the Earl of *Essex* being come back to *England*, he soon found means to appease the Queen; and she sent a new Supply to King *Henry* of 2000 Men, which arrived too late for being of any Service for the Siege of *Rouën*, which was raised (*d*).

Thirdly, The Duke of *Parma* being in full March with an Army of 10000 Foot, 3000 Horse, 40 Cannons, and 2000 Waggon, for carrying the Tools, Provisions, and Ammunition, was met at *Landrecy* by the Duke of *Guise*, and at *Guise* by *Mayenne*. Their Forces

(*d*) Mem. de Du Plessis Mornay, Tom. II. p. 134—186.

Henry IV. joined together, made up 15000 Foot and above 6000 Horse.

1592.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII.

The three Dukes held a Conference at *Guise*, and *Parma* feigning an Unwillingness to proceed any further if he had not some Place where to secure his Artillery, *Mayenne* was forced to give him *La Fere* for that purpose, where *Parma* put 400 Men in Garrison. But that was not all, for *Diego D'Ibarra*, Embassador from *Spain*, opened his Master's Intentions, that he required the Crown of *France* for the *Infanta* his Daughter, promising to marry her with some *French Prince*. (*It was no more than what he had been offered last Year by the SIXTEEN, as above said.*) Several Conferences were held between the Ministers of *Spain* and *Mayenne*. *Jeannin* was the Chief of the last, he endeavoured to elude the Question, opposing several weighty Considerations, especially the General Estates which were to be held shortly, then the vast Sums of Money for supporting the War, at least for two Years longer. (Two millions five hundred thousand Pounds Sterling a Year were asked for that purpose.) But the *Spaniards* granted without difficulty all his Demands, and promised further the greatest Advantages for the Duke of *Mayenne*; so that that Prince having nothing more to say, was put to his last shift, viz. to dissemble and spin out the Time (e).

Fourthly, The King knowing that they were marching, marched himself out of his Camp before *Rouën*, with 3000 Horse by the latter end of *January*, in order to meet them; at his coming he beat up the Duke of *Guise's* Quarters which were in the Van, near *Albeville*. He coped with the Enemy for three Weeks together.

(e) Thuan. lib. cii. p. 203, 204, &c.

together; but at last, he was very near being Henry IV.  
surrounded, and was wounded in the back with 1592.  
Pistol-shot at *Aumale*, where he endeavoured Pope Cle-  
to keep a *Defilé*. His Presence of Mind, his ment VIII.  
Courage, the darkness of the Night that came  
on, and above all the Almighty God's Providence  
delivered him from the greatest Danger he had  
ever been in, in his whole Life; and if he was  
blamed for having exposed himself like a Cara-  
binier, he was highly commended for having  
extricated himself like a great Captain.

Fifthly, But his Absence was very prejudicial  
to his Camp before *Rouën*. No Order or  
Discipline was kept in it; as soon as he was gone,  
the Besieged came out frequently, walked in  
the Camp, took notice of every thing, and  
made their Reports to *Villars*, who command-  
ed in the City, no strict watch was kept in the  
most dangerous Places, every one did what he  
pleased, and the greatest Confusion reigned  
there. The Marshal of *Biron* was at *Dernetal*,  
and besides that he could not be present every  
where, his private Interest and Inclinations  
did not oblige him to such a Strictness as  
was requisite in like Occasions. *Villars* im-  
proving that Opportunity, and having ex-  
horted the Citizens to mind their Duty, made  
a Sally upon the Besiegers on the 26th of  
*February* with 20000 Men, Inhabitants and o-  
thers, wherein he was so successful that he made  
a Slaughter of all that he met in his way, or put  
them to flight; he burnt Tents, and Huts,  
destroyed the Works, filled up the Trenches,  
fired the Gunpowder, carried away five large  
Cannons, and nailed up the others. They were  
Masters of that Quarter (*namely before St.*  
*Catherine's Fort*) till the Arrival of *Biron*, who  
came from *Dernetal* with the Nobility attended

Henry IV. by the *Switzers* and *Lanskenets*. He engaged them without *Reconnoitre*, but their Horse stood their ground, to give time to their Foot to retreat. *Biron* was wounded in the Thigh with a Musket-shot, the Royalists had 500 slain, and 100 carried Prisoners into the City, most of whom were Persons of Distinction.

1592.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII.

Sixthly, The three Dukes received that News just when they had resolved in their Council to march all the Night, and to attack on the next Day, the Quarter of *Dernetal*. The Jealousies of the Duke of *Mayenne* did not allow them to improve that Success, so that they were contented to throw only a Supply of 800 Men into the Place; which done, they retreated, and crossed the *Somme* with their Army.

Seventhly, Notwithstanding all their Rejoicings for a Fortnight together, the Inhabitants found themselves after all reduced to such a strait for want of Provisions, that *Villars* sent word to *Mayenne* that he should be forced to capitulate with the King, was he not relieved by the 20th of *March*. Whereupon the Dukes crossed again the *Somme*, and came three Leagues distant from *Rouën* upon the Day appointed. The King intended to give them battle, but seeing the bad Condition his Troops were in, he chose rather to raise the Siege about the middle of *April*. The same Reasons as above hindered them from attacking the King to their advantage; *Mayenne* and *Monte Marciano* obliged *Parma* to besiege *Caudebec*, which he took without much ado; then he insisted upon the taking of *Yvetot*, in order to cover *Caudebec*. That Place was very bad for them; they were not a long time in it before the King cut off their Army's Provisions, and having taken his

his Quarters between *L'Islebonne* and their Henry IV. Camp, he annoyed them by continual Skirmishes, having been worsted in several, and <sup>1592.</sup> *Pope Clement VIII.* considering that they could be forced in that Place, they dislodged without Trumpet or Drum in the Night-time, and came near *Cau-debec*; but they were no better there than in the former Place, they wanted Provisions and even Water, their Troops were ruined thro' Sick-ness; the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne*, with the renowned *George Baste* who commanded their Horse, were obliged to keep to their Beds; the first for a Musket-Shot he had received in his Arm at *Cau-debec*; the second for an old venereal Disease whereof he had not been well cured; the third was sick with a double Quartan Ague. Besides that, the Marshal of *Biron* gave them no rest, he took one Quarter of their Light Horse, with the Military Chest destined for the Payment of their Army. It was publickly said, nay, he was told by his own Son, that if he had charged them as briskly as he could, he would easily have routed the whole Army. But his Ambition did not allow him to put an end to the War so soon, lest he should not have so many occasions for gratifying his Passion.

The great Danger wherein *Parma* saw his Army exposed, obliged him to make a Retreat which was no less glorious to him than any of his former Feats, seeing that he dislodged from that Place, in the King's presence, without being perceived by him. His Majesty sent to pursue him; about 500 Foot, which, thro' their great Fatigue and Weariness, could not follow the Army, were surpris'd and surrendred themselves. But the Duke marched with such a Diligence, that in four Days he arrived from *Cau-debec*



Henry IV. *debec* at *Charenton*, 35 Leagues, and thought himself not safe till he had reached the Province of *Brie* in *Champaign*. *Mayenne* went to *Rouën* to be cured there of his Disease, and was dangerously ill.

LXI. After the raising of the Siege of *Rouën*, most part of the King's Army marched into *Champaign*, and besieged *Espernay*, which they took. The Marshal of *Biron* was killed there by a Cannon-Ball, which shot off his Head. That Marshal's Death was a great Loss to the King, he was reputed one of the greatest Captains and Politicians of his Age, born of a most ancient and noble Family in *Gascony*; he had been brought up Page to *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, the King's Grand-Mother, and had received some Tincture of the Reformed Religion: he passed through all the Degrees of the Military Art, and distinguished himself by his Prudence and an uncommon Bravery; his great Reading, and continual Application rendered him capable of the Places of the greatest Trust, and of the Management of Affairs that required the most exquisite Parts. He was very well shaped, of a very strong Constitution, having lived to the sixty-eighth Year, without being sick, or otherwise indisposed but by the Wounds he received on many occasions; he was a great Eater, facetious in his Conversation, profuse in his Expence, very liberal. One day his Steward told him, that he ought to dismiss out of his Service several People that were useless to him, and increased his Expence. *Well*, says he, *Master, you say right, they are useless unto me, but pray inquire of themselves whether I am useless unto them, and whether they have a mind to leave my Service?* He slept but very little, and was used after his first slumber to dictate to his

his Secretary, who lay constantly at the foot of his Bed, whatever he was to do the next day, what Orders he was to give to the Officers of the Army, &c. then he fell asleep again, and when he was awakened, he got up out of his Bed, and examined what he had dictated before to his Secretary, and made what Alterations and Improvements he thought proper; such were his good Qualifications. As to the bad ones, he was much self-conceited, very proud, and much more passionate; and whereas his Family Estate, nor even his Salaries could not afford the Expences his Profuseness put him to, he was obliged to make use of other Means very little agreeable to the Character of an upright Man, especially he did not improve his Advantages over the Enemy so much as he could have done, in order to render himself necessary by protracting the War as much as he was able. *Brantome* one of his own near Relations, and one of his greatest Admirers, tells us, that it was said, that after the raising of the Siege of Rouën, and when *Parma* was still at *Candebac*, his Son desired the King to give him only 4000 choice Men, Horse and Foot, with whom he promised to rout intirely the Enemy's Army. The thing was very feasible for many good Reasons, but his Father opposed him with all his Might, and told him when apart, *Why Biron! don't you see if you go on that way, the King will no longer stand in need of us, and that we shall be obliged to go back to the Castle of Biron, and plant Cabbages there. How many BIRONS have been in the World since that time, and will be still (f)?*

The

(f) *Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, Tom. II. p. 106, 107, &c. Thuan. lib. ciii. p. 218. Brantome Vie d'Armand Gontaud de Biron.*

**Henry IV.** The King had had a greater Loss by the  
<sup>1592.</sup> *Pope Cle-* latter end of the last Year in the Person of  
*ment VIII.* Count of *Chatillon*, Son to the late Admiral,  
 who died with a Fever caused by a great dis-  
 content. He was a young Lord about 31 Years  
 old of the brightest Parts, and the greatest  
 Hopes, civil, courteous, expert in every thing  
 which concerns the Military Art, especially Ma-  
 thematicks, a great Engineer. It was by his  
 Contrivance that *Chartres* was taken; he was  
 Admiral of *Guienne*, and when he died he was  
 about advancing with great Application the Na-  
 vigation in the *West Indies*. The King was  
 deeply affected with that Loss, and so much  
 the more when he heard that his Fever had pro-  
 ceeded from Grief, for some rash Words which  
 his Majesty had inconsiderately spoken unto  
 him, out of Impatience at the Siege of *Chartres*,  
 from whence that Lord had inferred, that his  
 Services were no longer agreeable to the King.  
 He died at his Castle of *Chatillon* upon  
*Loin* (g).

**LXIII.** *Francis* Duke of *Montpensier* died likewise at  
*Lisieux* on the 2d of *June*, being not yet fifty  
 Years old. He was a Prince of great Courage,  
 very loyal to the King, his only Son *Henry* of  
*Bourbon* Prince of *Dombes* succeeded him in his  
 Titles, Honours, Dignities and Riches, as  
 well as in his Government of *Normandy*.

**LXIV.** After the taking of *Espernay*, the Royal  
 Army marched into *Brie*, and besieged *Pro-*  
*vins*, the chief City of that Province, which  
 surrendered on the 5th of *September*, after a  
 few days Siege. Then the King built a Fort  
 at *Gornay* upon the *Marne* to stop the passage  
 of Provisions that go down that River to *Paris*,  
 and

(g) Thuan. lib. cii. p. 199 L'Etoile Mem. pour  
 servir a l'Histoire de *France*, Tom. II. p. 66.

and he trusted *Odet de La Nouë*, Son to the Henry IV. Lord *Francis de La Noue Iron-Arm*, with the <sup>1592.</sup> Guard thereof. Pope Clement VIII.

While the King was before *Rouën*, *Nicolas Fumée* Bishop of *Beauvais* was come to the LXV. Camp, in the name of the Clergy that were The Clergy renew their In- in the King's Party, to intreat his Majesty stances to the King. to turn Catholick, and grant them leave to send a Deputation to the Pope without offending the Parliament, who by their late Act had forbidden all manner of correspondence with *Rome*, as abovesaid. The King took the Matter of that Petition to be of such Consequence, that it could not be resolved without the Concurrence of his Parliament setting at *Tours*. Therefore he sent for the first President *Acbilles du Harlay* and three other Presidents, who being come to the Camp, the Matter was debated before his Majesty in his Council. They most humbly but earnestly intreated him not to consent to such a Deputation, whereby the Parliament's Authority would be made void. *Reynauld de Beaune* Archbishop of *Bourges*, who had succeeded *Amiot* in the great Almonry of *France*, was then present, and was thought to support the Parliament in their Demand for settling a Discipline in *France*, for regulating the Ecclesiastical Affairs, without the Pope meddling with them; he was in hopes, as his Enemies gave it out, that he himself, who by his Quality was already Patriarch of *France*, would be chosen to be at the Head of the Bishops in things relating to Dispensations, and Collation of Benefices, as long as the Schism should last in the Kingdom. Cardinal of *Lenoncour* had been thought to have aspired to the same Dignity, for which Cause he had been traduced and very ill used at the Court of *Rome*, and  
had

Henry IV. had died with Grief at *Blois* a few Months before.

1592. Now every one had his Eyes upon the Arch-  
Pope Cle- ment VIII. bishop as the properest Man for that high

Office. And indeed the King's Council would have proceeded further, had not Cardinal of *Bourbon* interposed, out of jealousy, because he not being a Priest, he was incapable of holding the said Office.

Therefore to avoid all Jealousies, another Method was proposed, and admitted, whereby every Bishop or Archbishop that followed the King's Party was to act in the Capacity of a Patriarch in his own Diocese; and if there happened any Vacancy by Death or Deprivation, the Authority was devolved to the Archbishop &c. (b).

LXVI.  
A Deputa-  
tion sent  
to Rome.

The King being at *Argenteuil*, at the Instances of Cardinal of *Gondy* Bishop of *Paris*, who was going to *Rome* and had offered his Services to his Majesty, and at the Intreaties of the Bishops that followed his Court, he was at last prevailed on, to suffer that an Embassy should be sent to the *Pope* in the Name of the Prince, Bishops and other Lords that adhered to his Party, for desiring his Holiness to receive him into his Favour. The Marquis of *Pisani*, who had been formerly Embassador at *Rome*, was named for that purpose; the Senate of *Venice* was to join their good Offices for that purpose. The Cardinal and the Marquis set out in *October*, they passed almost through all the Cities that held for the King, and having crossed the *Alps*, the Marquis stayed at *Desenzano* upon the Lake of *Garda* in the *Venetian* Territory, and the Cardinal proceeded on his Journey to *Rome*, having sent his Secretary before, in order to blot out the Reports which the *Spanish* Faction had raised

raised against him; which however had made Henry IV. such an Impression upon the *Pontiff*, that when he heard of the Cardinal's coming to *Rome*, he dispatched instantly *Alexander Franceschini* a Dominican Fryar, with very sharp Orders, forbidding him Entrance into the *Ecclesiastical Territories*, because, said he, in the Affairs of *France* he had behaved himself neither like a good Cardinal, nor a good Christian; he enumerated all his pretended Faults, which were rather as many Instances of the *Spaniards* Wickedness, and of the *Pontiff's* Pride, than any thing else.

1592.  
Pope Clement VIII

*Franceschini* having delivered his Charge to the Cardinal, his Eminence returned a suitable Answer, and after having declared that all the things that were laid to his charge were intirely groundless and false, one excepted, viz. that he had conferred with the King of *Navarre*; (so the King of *France* was styled by the least passionate *Leaguers*) he set forth the wicked Designs of the *Spaniards*, the boundless Ambition of the Heads of the *League*, who aimed at nothing else but the utter Ruin of the Kingdom under a false Pretence of Religion, &c. He apologized afterwards for his Behaviour and shewed forth that he had done nothing unworthy his Character as a Bishop of *Paris* and a Cardinal, and inveighed against the Cardinal of *Plaisance* the Pope's Legate at *Paris*, who had been against his Journey to *Rome*, only because he was afraid lest he should inform his Holiness of the true State of Affairs, &c.

That Answer mollified the Pope a little, he granted the Cardinal leave to come into the City provided he would not support underhand the Hereticks nor their Favourers, and that he should do penance for the little Regard he


Henry IV. had paid to Pope Gregory XIVth's Or  
 1592. wherewith the Cardinal complied, and  
 Pope Cle- henceforward very serviceable to the King  
 ment VIII



LXVII.

State of  
the two  
Parties.

It would be too tedious to relate the Opera  
 of the two Parties in other Provinces, and  
 various Success: In *Poitou*, *Languedoc*,  
*vence* and *Dauphiné* the Leaguers were wo  
 every where; but they were not always so  
 fortunate: *Vienne* in *Dauphiné* was take  
 the Duke of *Nemours* thro' the Treacher  
*Scipion Maugiron* Governour thereof. *Ha*  
*ville* did the same, and delivered *Pont Aue*  
 in *Normandy* to the Duke of *Mayenne*.  
 Duke of *Merœur* routed the Army of the Pr  
 of *Conti* and *Montpensier* in *Britanny* thr  
 the Misunderstanding of the two Princes,  
 did not agree well together, whereby it  
 pened that the Enemy's Party became  
 dominant in that Province. So that tho  
*League* was weakened, it was very far from  
 crushed; the greatest Cities sided still with  
 it was not possible to take them by Force  
 King of *Spain* and the *Pope* supported the  
 not as much as they could have done, at  
 sufficiently to keep them alive for a long v  
 But luckily for the King, Jealousies, Mist  
 and Divisions prevailed amongst the chi  
 that Party. The *Spaniards* were much di  
 fied with the Duke of *Mayenne*, and  
 Prince hated the *Spaniards*; the first had  
 discovered their Intention to place their  
*ta* upon the Throne of *France*, and to  
 her with some of the *French* Princes,  
 should be proposed by the States, and  
 insisted warmly upon the speedy Convoc  
 of the said States, to resolve upon the El  
 of a Catholick King. The second, seeing

by the Pretensions of the *Spaniards*, if consent-<sup>1592.</sup> Henry IV.  
ed to, he would be deprived of his usurped Au-<sup>Pope Cle-</sup>  
thority, because, being a married Man, he<sup>ment VIII</sup>  
could not be the Prince chosen by the States,   
for Husband to the *Infanta*, spun out the time  
as much as he could, and seeking all means  
possible for extricating himself out of his Diffi-  
culties, he had agreed to a Conference with the  
King. *Villeroy* on his part and *Du Plessis*  
*Mornay* on the King's, were the Persons named  
for that purpose, they agreed well enough up-  
on the general Points; the King's Instruction,  
provided it should be done in a way agreeable  
to the royal Majesty of a King of *France*, in  
fix Months time after the Ratification of the pre-  
sent Treaty. That in the mean while he would  
give leave to the Catholick Princes, &c. of his  
Party to send a Deputation to the Pope; and  
in the Interim, they should treat of the Peace,  
which Treaty being concluded, His Majesty  
should be acknowledged by the Chiefs of the  
League. It was not very difficult to agree as to  
the Points concerning the League in general;  
but when they came to the Particulars, the  
Demands for each of the Chiefs were so exor-  
bitant and extravagant, tending directly not  
only to the dismembring of the Kingdom, but  
even to the rendering the Royal Authority de-  
pending on their own, that *Du Plessis*, justly of-  
fended at them, broke off the Conferences by  
the King's Orders.


They could not be held so secretly, but the  
*Spaniards* had some scent of it, therefore to  
thwart the Duke of *Mayenne*, they offered his  
Majesty to let him enjoy the Crown peaceably,  
without requiring any thing as to his Religion,  
provided he would yield unto them *Britanny*  
and *Burgundy*. But that was not in the King's



Henry IV. power, to part with the Demefn of the Crowne  
 1592. so that his Privy Council rejected that Proposition.  
 Pope Clement VIII

LXVIII. At last the Duke of *Mayenne*, not being  
*Mayenne summons the General States.* to do any thing worse against the King, consented to the holding of the General States, which the *Spanish* and the Duke of *Guise's* pretensions had so warmly insisted upon long ago. He had full hopes that they might prevail with the Assembly to have the *Infanta* of *Spain* elected and married to the said Duke. *Mayenne* more than once promised that Assembly, but had always delayed the convening thereof under several Pretences, wherein he was himself chiefly concerned. But after all, he could not stand any longer against the earnest Instigation made by the great Cities, the *Spaniards*, the *Pope* himself and his Legate; and the Duke of *Parma's* Death which happened at this time when he was preparing to enter the Kingdom for a third time with a strong Army, confirmed him in his Resolution. Therefore he appointed that great Assembly for the Month of *January*, at *Paris*, notwithstanding the instances of the *Spanish* Faction, who endeavored to have it appointed at *Rheims*, knowing that the Duke's Party was the strongest in that first City.

LXIX. All this while the King was in the great  
*The King's Anxieties.* Anxieties, the THIRD PARTY received every day some new Addition of Strength; it was even to be feared lest the Duke of *Mayenne* should join himself with them in order to elect a Catholick King. His Majesty and his faithful Servants had conceived great hopes from the Marquis of *Pisani's* Dexterity in his Negotiation with the Court of *Rome*. But the Duke of *Mayenne* who had the greatest ascendancy over the

would have been very sorry, had the Pope shewed Henry IV. himself tractable upon any other Terms than <sup>1592.</sup> *Pope Cle-* their own, and by their Under-dealings they *ment VIII* crossed the Marquis's Negociation as much as  they could. The Clergy especially shewed themselves the stiffest. They had petitioned for leave to hold another Assembly at *Chartres* in spite of the Parliament, wherein they were resolved to petition the King to turn Catholick, threatening him, in case of a Refusal, to be forsaken by most part of the Catholicks, who would shift for themselves. Cardinal of *Bourbon* was at the bottom of all these Practices. *Du Plessis*, being informed thereof, conferred about it at *Tours* with some of the King's faithful Servants, and wrote to his Majesty to let him know that such an Address was to be presented to him. He told him, that he knew not for what purpose that Assembly was to be held, which ought to be delay'd till he had received News of the Marquis of *Pisani*. Then he advised him, if the Pope persisted in his former Resolution, to come to *Tours*, on pretence of visiting MADAME his Sister, and to come into the Parliament, to deliberate about the present posture of Affairs; that he might even be crowned there, as *Charles VII.* had been formerly crowned at *Poitiers*. That there was no Ceremony in these two Actions contrary to his Profession; that his Majesty would certainly find there a Parliament fully resolved to exert themselves in his Behalf, and let your Majesty, says he, firmly believe, that you will easily shew the Pope, that you might have sooner made a Pope in France, than be a King of France at Rome. That Counsel was followed but in

Henry IV. part. The King came to *Tours*, in order to go  
 1593. and meet his Sister at *Saumur* (k).

Pope Cle-  
 ment VIII

The Occasion of that Princess's Journey was  
 this. A Match had been proposed in 1585,  
 between the Count of *Soissons* and she, as we  
 have said in our former Volume, but upon Non-  
 Performance of certain Articles, the Conclu-  
 sion had been deferred. Since that time the  
 King had altered his mind, especially since his  
 Accession to the Crown; nevertheless the Prince  
 and Princess being enamoured with one another,  
 had constantly kept a secret Correspondence by  
 Letters; the Countess of *Guiche*, out of re-  
 venge for the King's Inconstancy, was the Ma-  
 nager of that Intrigue. During the Siege of  
*Rouën*, she wrote to the Count in the Princess's  
 Name, and advised him to improve that Op-  
 portunity, and on pretence of a Visit to his  
 Mother who was sick at *Tours*, to come post  
 to *Pau*, in *Bearn*. The Count obeyed, and set  
 out. But the King being informed of the  
 whole Affair, by means of a Maid of Honour  
 to the Princess, sent proper Persons to inter-  
 pose his Authority, and put a stop to her Mar-  
 riage. They arrived at *Pau* at the very nick  
 of Time, for the Count and the Princess had  
 already signed their Contracts, and nothing more  
 was wanting to make them happy, but the last  
 Ceremony, which was to be performed on the  
 next Day. The Parliament of *Pau*, having re-  
 ceived the King's Orders, forbade them to pro-  
 ceed any further, they set guards over the  
 Princess, and obliged the Count to quit the  
 City. Her Highness sent very bitter Complaints  
 of such Rudeness to the King her Brother; who  
 by his soft Answer engaged her to come to  
 Court, and he went by the latter end of *Fe-*  
*bruary*

(k) Mem. de Du Plessis Mornay, Tom. II.

*bruary* to meet her at *Saumur*. He had sent Henry IV. before for the Duke of *Montpensier*, with whom he had a mind to marry his Sister; and the Duke, very well pleased with the Match, had already yielded many things as to Religion, and very likely would yield much more, could the Princess have been prevailed upon to comply, but her Inclinations for the Count were still too strong. The Reason why His Majesty was so much against it, was because the Count had betrayed a Design of supplanting him, and of setting up himself as a Pretender to the Crown, wherein his Marriage with the Princess would have helped him much (1).

1593.  
Pope Clement VIII

About the latter end of *December* 1592 the Duke of *Mayenne* had published a Declaration for the Re-union of all the Catholicks of the Kingdom, as abovesaid; it was but an invective against the King, covered with a Pretence of Religion, summoning the Royal Catholicks, to forsake his Majesty, and appointing the General States at *Paris* for the 17th of *January*, there to consider of the properest means of preserving the Religion and State, without any Partiality or Passion. While *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon* was alive, the League spoke quite after another Strain. But since his Death, knowing in their own Conscience that the Crown was devolved by right to *Henry IV.* they brought forth the Pretence of Religion, to dazzle the People's Eyes.

LXX.  
Mayenne's Declaration.

To this Declaration of *Mayenne*, the King opposed another, wherein he set forth the Artifices of his rebellious Subjects, especially of their Chief and Ring-Leaders; the Felony of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who took upon him to

The King's Answer.

(1) Thuan. lib. cv. pag. 113. Vie de Du Pleffis Mor-  
nay, liv. i. pag. 191, &c.

<sup>1593.</sup>  
 Henry IV. summon the General States, usurping plainly  
 Pope Cle- by that means the Royal Authority; he con-  
 ment VIII futes his Subterfuges and frivolous Pretences;  
 maintains his own Right to the Crown; and  
 as to Religion he declares, that if besides a General or National Council, they could find some better and speedier means, for his Instruction in a way suitable to his high Station, far from rejecting it, he was ready to improve it with all his heart, as he had sufficiently evinced, says he, by granting leave to the Princes, Officers of the Crown, and other Catholick Lords of his Party, to send to the Pope, to desire his Concurrence in that Instruction. Furthermore, the King charges the Leaguers of having opposed that Instruction; he treats of the Duty of true *Frenchmen*; promises to receive Instruction; and declares himself against that pretended Assembly of the States at *Paris*, as being done against the Laws, the Welfare and Tranquility of the Kingdom; and whatever shall be enacted by them, shall be of course deemed abusive and void; declares the Duke of *Mayenne* and his Adherents guilty of High Treason; promises a free Pardon to the Cities, Commonalities, Corporations, and all private Persons seduced by the Leaguers, who shall return to their Allegiance a Fortnight after the publishing of these Presents.

*Declaration of the  
 Royalist  
 Lords.*

The Princes and Catholick Lords of the King's Council, drew up likewise a Declaration of their own, which they sent to the said States by a Trumpet on the latter end of *January*. Wherein they required that proper Persons well qualified for that purpose should be deputed on both sides for consulting together about the properest means of pacifying the Kingdom, and preserving the Roman Catho-  
 lick

lick Religion and the State. The Duke of Henry IV. *Mayenne* and his Adherents answered, that they <sup>1593.</sup> *Pope Clement VIII.* were ready to send their Deputies, provided they had not to deal with the King of *Navarre* or any other Heretick, but only with true Catholics. On another hand the Pope's *Legate* published an Exhortation to all the Catholics of the Kingdom, full of Injuries against the King, who was defamed and reviled on all sides.

The Duke of *Feria* Embassador of *Spain* LXXI. came to the States at *Paris*, and exhorted them to elect a new King; then he tendered the Letters of his Master aiming at the same thing, with Promises to assist the Leaguers with all his Might if they elected the Infanta of *Spain*, which should be married with some Prince of the Royal Blood of *France*, (young Cardinal of *Bourbon* was meant then :) he was thanked for his Speech by Cardinal *de Pellevé* Archbishop of *Rheims*, a downright Slave to the House of *Guise*. *The Spanish Ambassador's Offers to the States.*

While these things were transacting at *Paris*, LXXII. the King was strongly solicited by several Persons, even by some professing the Reformed Religion and Members of his Privy Council, such as Baron of *Rosny*, afterwards Duke of *Sully*, to forsake the outward Profession of the Reformed Religion, and turn Catholic, no Artifice was omitted which Converters make use of on such Occasions. At one time the Abuses of the Roman Church were extenuated, they represented them as too slight, to give any just Scruple to a reasonable Man. At another time, they granted him that they ought to be corrected, and reformed, and he was made to hope that they should be looked to, when he would be turned; and so many other Devices, *The King is solicited to turn Catholic.*  
too

Henry IV. too tedious to be here enumerated, were put in use, that it is no wonder if a Prince of his Character and in his Circumstances yielded at last to the Temptation. *Rosny* told him that one may be saved in both Religions indifferently, that a CATHOLICITY would be much to his advantage; and that it would be the most efficacious means to quell all Conspiracies against his Person; he magnified the Toils, Troubles, Dangers, Anxieties, &c. &c. whereto he would be exposed all the Days of his Life, did he persevere in his Religion, without being able of ever enjoying with Satisfaction any Pleasure, or any Indearment. He reduced the whole Religion to the Apostles Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Love of God and our Neighbour, the Confidence in the Merits of Jesus Christ; and that being supposed, all other Differences in Religion either in the Doctrine or Discipline and Worship seemed to him of small consequence; however, he declared that as to himself he would never change, and indeed he persevered a Reformed, but his Religion was no hindrance to his Advancement. Nay, some Ministers, whose Ambition and Avarice rendered them tractable, were sometimes made to confess in the King's Presence, that one could be saved in the Roman Religion; sometimes they were made to dispute, as by chance, with *Du Perron*, to whom they would yield ill-disputed Victories. And to the end that what they said might appear, as said without any private View, and be of a greater Weight, they were not obliged to turn Catholics, their Prevarication being thought more beneficial than a publick Profession of the *Roman* Doctrine. By these Artifices it was that the King was supplied with the Argument whereof

whereof Converters have since made great use ; Henry IV. viz. You REFORMED, you grant that one may be saved in the Catholick Religion ; On <sup>1593.</sup> *Pope Clement VIII.* the contrary the Catholicks say that none can be saved in the Reformed Religion ; Prudence would have us stick to the surest, and to take to that Communion wherein the two contending Parties grant Salvation to be possible. These Ministers had been prepared long beforehand, whereof *Morlas, Rotan, De Serres, and Vaux,* were the most noted ; the latter of whom being troubled with some Remorses, revealed, it is said, the whole Mystery. *Cayer* was also of their Number ; but for some Books which he wrote in defence of Adultery and other like Crimes, and his lewd Behaviour, he was deposed by a Synod, and out of spite he turned Catholick.

While the King was thus perplexed by the LXXIII. contrary Opinions of his Courtiers, the Parliament of *Paris* exerted its Authority in a way *Some further Transactions at Paris.* suitable to the ancient Integrity of that August Body. The *Spanish* Emissaries prevailed almost in the States for the Subversion of the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, as to the Succession of the Crown. Being informed of the Intrigues of the *Spaniards* to engage the Deputies of the States in the Interest of their Master, they ordered that Remonstrances should be made to the Duke of *Mayenne*, exhorting him to maintain the Laws, and not to suffer that the Crown of *France* should be transferred to Foreigners, declaring void and unlawful all Treaties which had been made or should be made upon that account, as contrary to the *Salick Law*. Accordingly the first President *Le Maitre* made very lively and bold Remonstrances to that Prince, and represented that the Domination of



Henry IV. of Women in *France*, even of Regents, had always occasioned Seditions and Civil Wars.

1593.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII.

On the other hand, the *Pope's* Legate and his Adherents left no Stone unturned, to have the Council of *Trent* received and published by the General States Authority; but they laboured in vain, for they were strenuously opposed by the first President *Le Maitre* and *William Du Vair*, who set forth in a full Light, how much that Council was contrary to the Liberties and Discipline of the *Gallican Church*, and to the Rights, Privileges and Immunities of the Kingdom. Their Opinion was extraordinary well received by some, but the greatest number who were Slaves of the Courts of *Madrid* and *Rome* were much offended at the noble Liberty wherewith those grave and learned Senators delivered it, especially the Legate, who, however, thought proper to dissemble his Resentment, lest the Assembly should break up thro' the Heats of the Debates (*m*).

LXXIV.  
Conferen-  
ces at Su-  
renne.

Now the time of the Conferences appointed with the Catholicks of the King's Party, being near at hand, proper Preparations were made for that purpose. On the 21st of *April*, Lodgings were marked out at *Surenne* a Borough near *Paris*, for the Deputies of both Parties. Two Days after the Archbishop of *Lyons*, the Bishop of *Avranches*, the Abbot of *St. Vincent of Laon*, the Lord of *Villars* created Admiral by the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Count of *Belin* Governour of *Paris*, President *Jeannin*, President *Le Maitre*, and five or six more, deputed by the Leaguers, having received the *Legate's* Blessing and performed other religious Acts, arrived in that Place at one o' Clock in the Afternoon.

(*m*) Thuan. lib. cv. Choses memorables arrives en France, &c. pag. 740—745.

1600. *Reinould de Baulne* Archbishop and Pa- Henry IV.  
 triarch of *Bourges*, *Francis de Chavigny*, Pom- <sup>1593.</sup>  
*one de Bellievre*, *Nicholas D'Angenne* Lord of <sup>Pope Cle-</sup>  
*Rambouillet*, *Gaspard de Schomberg* Count of <sup>ment VIII.</sup>  
*Nanteuil*, *Godefroy Pontcarré*, *James Augustus*  
*Ibuanus*, (our noble Historian) and *Lewis De*  
*Revol*, Deputies of the Royalists, were arrived  
 few hours before; *Dominic De Vic* Governour  
 of *St. Denis* came along with them and assisted at  
 the Conferences, tho' he was not named Deputy,  
 the Leaguers having obtained the same Faculty  
 for *Nicholas De Ville-Roy* who had not been  
 named by the Duke of *Mayenne*. After hav-  
 ing settled the Ceremonial and Order of the  
 Conferences, and agreed that none of them  
 should set down his Title, but only his bare  
 Name when he should sign, to avoid Disputes,  
 the first Debate arose concerning *Rambouillet*,  
 against whom the Leaguers would except, be-  
 cause they charged him for having been an Ad-  
 viser of the late Duke and Cardinal of *Guise's*  
 Execution; but his Reasons being admitted, and  
 the King insisting that he should be present, they  
 proceeded to other Things. A Cessation of  
 Arms to a certain Distance of the Place wherein  
 they were assembled was agreed, then they gave  
 one to another reciprocal Assurances for their  
 Safety, they produced their full Powers, and  
 on the 6th Day, the Archbishop of *Bourges*  
 opened the Conference upon the chief Business  
 of their meeting.

It is not to be conceived how far the *Lea-*  
*guers* carried their Impudence in their Demands;  
 they would not treat as Subjects with their na-  
 tural Prince, but as Equals. They required that  
 the King should turn Catholick in three Months  
 time for the furthest. That the Catholick Re-  
 ligion should be publicly restored in all Cities,  
 Towns, Boroughs, &c. all over the Kingdom  
 without

Henry IV. without exception. That if the King would  
 1593. allow the Reformed to live in the Kingdom;  
 Pope Cle- that ought to be done only by an Edict of To-  
 ment VIII. leration for a certain limited time, which might  
 be prorogued, if it was thought proper. That  
 no Reformed could obtain any Charge, Office,  
 Dignity, Captainship, Government, Embassies,  
 Benefices, &c. That the King should nomi-  
 nate none to the Benefices but according to the  
 holy Decrees and Canons; they divided the  
 best Governments of the Kingdom amongst  
 the *Guises* and their Creatures. Four new  
 Marshalships of *France* ought to be created in  
 their behalf. The King could not put Garison  
 in any Cities held by the Heads of the *League*  
 which shall be named in the Treaty, nor in  
 any other, unless they be situated upon the Fron-  
 tiers. The Company of Gendarmes belong-  
 ing to the said Heads ought to be maintained  
 and kept at the King's Charge in the Provinces  
 whereof they were or would be Governours.  
 The King shall join to the Government of *Bur-*  
*gundy* that of the *Lyonese*, *Forest*, and *Beaujolois*;  
 in behalf of Monsieur *de Mayenne*, together  
 with the Nomination to the Offices and Bene-  
 fices. In a word, they divested the King by  
 their Pretensions of the Reality, and leave un-  
 to him nothing but the Name of a King.

These Propositions had been formerly made  
 by *Jeannin* in the name of those proud and  
 ambitious Chiefs, who, under the holy name  
 of *Defenders of the Faith*, hid the most detest-  
 able and shocking Designs that could be ima-  
 gined; they had been scornfully rejected al-  
 ready, but the Proposers had not been dis-  
 heartned, they renewed their Pretensions at  
 this time; and to be short, after twelve or four-  
 teen Conferences, they parted without agreeing  
 upon

upon a single Point ; notwithstanding the <sup>Henry IV.</sup> King's Promise that he would instantly proceed to his Instruction, that was to say, to his <sup>1593.</sup> turning Catholick ; he was answered, that it be- <sup>Pope Cle- ment VIII.</sup> longed to the *Pope* to judge of his Sincerity, and that he would not be acknowledged by them till he had received his Absolution, which they opposed with all their Might for a long time.

During these Conferences the King set out from *Mantes*, and went to besiege *Dreux*, which he took by Storm ; *Noyon* had been retaken by the *Leaguers* after some Weeks Siege.

The *Spanish* Embassador, the *Pope's Legate*, LXXV. *D'Espinac* Archbishop of *Lyons*, and some o- <sup>Proceed- ings of the Spanish Emissaries in the States.</sup> thers of the same sort, did their utmost at *Pa- ris* to hinder the People from accepting the Truce offered by the King, and for procuring the Election of the Archduke *Ernest* to be King of *France* ; they miscarried in both, for as to the *Archduke*, *Rose* himself Bishop of *Senlis*, tho' a furious Leaguer, opposed the Proposition, and carried his point. And the *Parisians* understanding that their Chiefs endeavoured to stifle the King's Offers of a Truce, rose up tumultuously, and were appeased with much ado. The Emissaries of *Spain* were very hard at work at *Paris* to procure a King of *Philip's* liking ; as they proposed always a *French* Prince who should marry the *Infanta*, *La Chastres* Governor of *Berry* desired them to name what Prince they had in view, *Feria* named the young Duke of *Guise*. *Mayenne* who was present dissembled for that time, and feigned to consent to that Nomination, but *Bassompierre* Representative for the Duke of *Lorraine* interposed in his Master's Name ; and *La Chastres* opposed openly the Proposition. Nevertheless the Duke

Henry IV. Duke of *Guise* began to be courted by every one as a rising Sun, and the Duke of *Mayenne* <sup>1593.</sup> was almost left alone, whereat being moved *Pope Clement VIII.* with Jealousy, he resolved to oppose or disturb the Election. For which purpose he sent Admiral *De Villars* to *Rouën* with Orders to offer his Interest to the young Cardinal of *Bourbon*, if he had a mind to renew his Pretensions to the Crown. But that Prince who was then at *Gal- lion*, and whose Health was much impaired, seeing that his former Designs having been detected in time had been disappointed; refused to hearken to the Duke of *Mayenne's* Proposition.

*Bassompierre* being intent to hinder that Election, made use of *Michel de La Huguerie* for publishing a Book wherein he set forth the great Danger wherewith such an Election would be attended if it was procured by the King of *Spain*. On his side the Duke of *Mayenne* willing to hinder it by all means, took to his last shift, and renewed the mention of a Truce which had been proposed by the King; which *De La Chastres* found means to persuade as useful and necessary; and that Prince excused himself from proceeding to the said Election, saying that it was a thing as yet out of Season.

LXXVI. All the while, his Majesty was in the greatest *The King's* Anxieties, his Life or at least his Liberty were *Anxieties.* in the utmost danger; he knew the Plots that were laid every day against one or the other, the Catholick Lords of his Court had openly threatned him to forsake him, and some of them to side with his Enemies, if he did not instantly turn Catholick. In those Anguishes, finding himself under this sad Dilemma, either to renounce his Crown or his Religion, he yielded to the Temptation. *Henry* was a great Prince

Prince in several respects, but he was a Man. He <sup>Henry IV.</sup> resolved to be instructed out of form only, for <sup>1593.</sup> he knew much better than his Teachers; the <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> Archbishop of *Bourges* and some Bishops, a- <sup>ment VIII</sup> mongst whom was the famous *James David Du Perron*, named to the Bishoprick of *Evreux* were chosen for that purpose; the Instruction was short, His Majesty himself proposed and resolved the Difficulties; no Minister or Layman of the Reformed Religion that could be able to assert the Truth was admitted, for tho' His Majesty had agreed with *Du Plessis*, to hold a Conference between the best Divines of both Parties, wherein the controverted Points should be freely debated, and that in consequence of that Resolution he had notified to the Reformed Churches to send their Deputies to *Mantes*, and to chuse some of the most eminent amongst their Divines; nevertheless, when he saw that Truth could not be victorious without an evident Danger of his own Ruin, so that it was better for him to yield to the Necessity of the Times, he freely granted *Du Plessis's* Request, who desired to be excused for not appearing at that Conference, and who intreated His Majesty not to expose the Truth to be vilified, since he was fully resolved to satisfy the Catholics at any rate.

His Majesty came from *Mantes* to *St. Denis* <sup>LXXVII.</sup> on the 22d of *July*, where the Prelates were as- <sup>The King's</sup> sembled by his own appointment for proceeding <sup>Instructions</sup> to his Instruction: He was received with great shoutings of a Multitude of People, Inhabitants and Foreigners, that were come from *Paris*, notwithstanding the Duke of *Mayenne's* severe Prohibitions. The next Day which was a *Friday*, the Archbishop of *Bourges*, the Bishops of *Nantes*, of *Chartres*, of *Mans*, *Du Perron* Bi-  
Vol. IV.
K
shop

Henry IV. shop elect of *Evreux*, and some Curates of *Paris* were admitted to a private Audience. The  
 1593. Pope Cle- Cardinal of *Bourbon* was come likewise thither,  
 ment VIII but the King, being well informed of his secret  
 ~~~~~~ Machinations, would not have him present at that Transaction, knowing certainly that he was rather a Spy, than a Witness; and added in a joke, that was the Disputation to be had only between them two, he was sure that tho' he had never studied in Divinity, and that his Antagonist was a Cardinal, he should for all that, get the victory over him. The King heard the Bishops very patiently from six of the clock to eleven before Noon; then rising up from his Seat, he gave them thanks, for that they had taught him what he knew not before, and told them that he would think of it a little more, and desired them to pray to God for him, that he might take a Resolution which might prove wholesome to the Kingdom as well as to himself.

It is to be observed, that for some Weeks before, he had had many Conferences with several Divines which he had sent for from *Paris*, especially *René Benoit*, Curate of *St. Eustache*, *Edward Chavagnac*, Curate of *St. Sulpice*; *Claude Morene*, Curate of *St. Mederic*, and a few others. One of them said the Day after the last Conference, that he had never seen a Heretick better instructed in his Error, nor one who maintained it with better Arguments, than the King. As they spoke of the Prayer for the Dead, *Pray*, says his Majesty, *let alone the REQUIEM, I am not dead as yet, nor have I a mind to die so soon. As to the Purgatory, I do believe it, says he, not as an Article of Faith, but as a Belief of the Church whereof I am a Son, it is also to please ye, knowing that it is THE*  
 PRIEST'S

PRIEST'S LIVELIHOOD. As to the Adora-<sup>Henry IV.</sup>  
tion of the Sacrament, he insisted for a long <sup>1593.</sup>  
time, and at last told them, *You don't satisfy me* <sup>Pope Cle-</sup>  
*upon that Article so well as I could desire and had* <sup>ment VIII</sup>  
*expected. Lo, I trust this day my Soul into your*  
*Hands, take care of it, I beg of ye, for where*  
*you oblige me to enter, there I shall live all the*  
*Days of my Life, and that I do promise upon my*  
*Oath: whereupon being extraordinarily moved,*  
*he wept.*

Then they tendered to his Majesty a Writing containing a Form of Abjuration, and Detestation of the chief Articles he had believed heretofore, pretending that he ought to protest against them, and to sign the said Protestation, before he should be received into the Pale of the Church; whereupon he told them, *Metbinks I have done enough, and you ought to rest satisfied; nevertheless leave that Paper, I will peruse it.*

The next Day the 24th of July, he sent early in the Morning for the first Presidents of the Parliaments of Tours and Caën, then at St. Denis, and told them, *I have done what was in my power to satisfy our Masters about my Conversion, and my Return to the Catholick Church, wherein I will live and die, as I have promised them; but I did not understand that I should be constrained to take such extraordinary Oaths, and to believe and sign idle Stories, which I am sure, you don't believe yourselves, such as the Purgatory: upon your Conscience, do you believe it?* Whereupon they gave no Answer, but turning the Discourse upon the Subject of their coming; *It is not reasonable, say they, to force your Majesty any further, and if you please, we shall go to these Gentlemen, and remonstrate to them. Pray do that, says the King,*



Henry IV. *and tell them to be content, I have done enough; if they go any further, some Mischief will ensue.*

<sup>1593.</sup>  
Pope Clément VIII


The Reverend Mr. *La Faye* went to the Chancellor to complain of the Violence put upon the King's Conscience. His Lordship answered, *that it was not reasonable, and that he would take care of it.*

*Chauveau* Curate of *St. Gervais* said in presence of the Prelates assembled to draw up that Form of Abjuration, that *the King was neither a TURK, nor a PAGAN, to force him to make such an Abjuration; he is a Christian, says he, and if he hath erred, he must be reclaimed by fair means, from Error to Truth, and not dealt with just as if he was totally ignorant thereof.* He was supported in this by the Bishop of *Mans* and some others; so that, that Form was something altered, and *Rosny*, afterwards Duke of *Sully*, had a hand in it†. But however altered it was, there remained still enough, to make a sincere Lover of Truth tremble; Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Worship of Saints and Images, the Pope's Supremacy, &c. were plainly asserted; and the Truths opposed to these Lies as plainly condemned and detested.

*He abjures the Reformed Religion at St. Denis.*

However, *Sunday* the 25th of *July* was the fatal Day, wherein the King made the TUMBLING TRICK, as he was pleased to express himself in his Letter to his beloved Mistress the fair *Gabrielle D'Estres* Duchefs of *Montceaux* and *Beaufort*, dated the 23d of *July*. He came about eight in the Morning to the great Church Door of *St. Denis* attended by a great number of Princes, Lords, &c. of his Court surrounded by his *Scotch* and *Switz* Guards new cloathed, and amidst a vast Croud of People come from *Paris*, notwithstanding the severe

† *Memoires de Sully*, Tom. I. ch. xl. p. 114, 115—117

severe Prohibitions of *Mayenne* and of the *Henry IV. Pope's Legate*, (it was Death and Excommu-<sup>1593.</sup> *Pope Cle-* <sup>ment VIII</sup>  nication for whomsoever should come out to go to *St. Denis* without Licence, which was flatly denied to every body) the Archbishop of *Bourges* attended by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, nine Bishops and the forementioned Curates waited for His Majesty. The Archbishop asked the King, *Who he was? and what he wanted?* He answered, *I am the King, and want to be admitted into the Pale of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Church.* He was asked again *Whether he desired it sincerely and earnestly?* having answered affirmatively, he fell down on his Knees, and promised upon his Oath, to live and die in the Communion of the said Church, to defend it and protect it *at the peril of his Life against all Opposers, that he freely renounced all Opinions contrary to the Roman Catholick Apostolick Church*; then having delivered his Profession of Faith, subscribed with his own Hand, to the Archbishop of *Bourges*\*, he and the Cardinal of *Bourbon* helped him to rise up, and was led by them to the great Altar, where he repeated the same Oath on his Knees, and making the Sign of the Cross, he kissed the said Altar; from thence he went to a Pavilion behind the Altar erected for that purpose, where he confessed himself to the Archbishop, who gave him Absolution. Then *Te Deum* was sung; and having heard Mass celebrated by the Bishop of *Nantes*, he returned to the Castle attended as before, amidst the loud Acclamations of the People (n).

Whoever

\* That above mentioned, corrected by the Bishop of *Mans* and *Rosny*.

(n) Thuan. lib. cvi, & cvii. Mem. de l'Etoile pour servir a l'Hist. de France, Tom. II. p. 140, 141, &c. Mem.

Henry IV. Whoever shall consider impartially this Action with what preceded, will be at a stand to determine whether to admire or blame most, the King's Complaisance, or his Enemies Obstinacy? and amongst his Enemies, I reckon those Catholicks of his Part, who bore the sway in his Council, and had the chief management of his Affairs, such as *D'O* and some others, and some self-interested Reformed of his Court like *Rosny*.

1593.  
Pope Clement VIII  
LXXVIII  
*Reflection upon that Event.*

The King had been brought up from the Cradle in the Profession of the Reformed Religion, Queen *Jane* his Mother had taken great care to have him instructed in his Religion; he was very sensible of the manifold Errors of the *Romish*; the four Years time he had spent at Court, much against his Will, were more than sufficient to acquaint him thoroughly with the true Spirit of that cruel and deceitful Religion; nevertheless, against his own Experience and certain Knowledge, he forsakes his own to follow this. What Torture did he not feel in his mortally wounded Conscience! How cruel the Anguishes of his Soul! He wrote with his own Hand several Letters to *Du Plessis*, desiring, nay, intreating him very earnestly to come near his Person, that he might unburthen himself into his Bosom, In one of them he desired him to let him know what the Reformed said of his Change. Whereto *Du Plessis* sent him this Letter, which tho' long, deserves to be here inserted.

SIR,

Mem. de Du Plessis Mornay, Tom. II. Recueil des choses memorables arrivées en France, &c. p. 762—764. troisième Edition à Heyden, 1603.

Henry IV.

1593.

Pope Clement VIII

Du Plessis'

Letter to the King.

SIR,

SINCE Your Majesty has been pleased to enquire about the Sentiments of your most humble Subjects of the Reformed Religion, they say, that having the Honour to have for their King, the same Person who had honour'd them with his Protection; and who had, amidst so many Dangers, presented their Petitions, now invested with the requisite Power for granting them; they thought they might justly flatter themselves with hopes, that he would take care to ease them from Troubles, without their stirring much about it. For which cause they had resolved to wait patiently, till your Majesty's Affairs were settled. But they have just reason to complain that in four Years time Your Majesty had not so much as taken the Halter from their Necks, far from doing any thing that might tend to their Establishment; the tyrannical Edicts which the League had published for your own Ruin and theirs, remaining in full force, in several of your Parliaments: (*But how could the King remedy these Evils as long as the said Parliaments persisted in their unnatural Rebellion against Royal Majesty?*) Though your Majesty might have been put in mind of them, by the Continuation of their Services; for which they at present have no other Reward, than a well-grounded Fear for the future, and a great Grief for what has been transacted of late. (His Change of Religion.)

However, they said, that by their Petitions, they required not the Law of the State to be altered in their behalf, or in some foreign Prince's behalf, as the *Leaguers* have done. And as little, that their natural Prince should

**H**enry IV. change his Religion after their own Fancy, as the *Roman Catholicks* adhering to Your Majesty. And less still, that the State should be torn in pieces to gratify the Ambition of some People at your and the publick's Expence; but only to enjoy their own Consciences in Peace, and their Lives in Safety, every one according to his Quality and Condition, (which is a common Right to all Men, and not a Privilege) being fully resolved to obey whatever Prince, God shall be pleased to give them, without any Exception as to his Religion, and under his Command to defend even to the last Drop of their Blood, the sacred Laws of the Kingdom.

And for all that they complain that the matter of their just Petitions which had been granted unto them by the late Kings, and been required and maintained by yourself with so much Zeal and Vigour, has not been regarded since Your Majesty's Accession to the Crown, when they ought to expect the greatest Advantages, and when indeed, were it not for their Zeal for your Grandeur, and their Assurance of your Good-Will towards them, they might justly and usefully make use of the same means, as they have been forced to employ under the Kings your Predecessors. But what could they not have expected, and hoped for from him, whom God had, by the Protection of his Church, brought to the Succession of this Kingdom? And what could those, who had shed their Blood so freely for you, expect less than their Liberty and their Lives?

Now after their long Patience, they see that Your Majesty has changed his Religion in an instant, without providing for them. Thereupon the Common People (who see no farther than

than the outside) say, if it was of his own ac- Henry IV,  
cord, what can we further expect from his af- 1593.  
fection? And if he has been forced, we can Pope Cle-  
expect less still; or we must expect nothing but ment VIII  
Mischief and Misfortune, since our Misery  
is in other People's power, and that it is no  
longer with him to do us good.

Indeed, SIR, the most circumspect, think, that it is impossible for your Majesty ever to forget the many Favours you have received from God, who, by such extraordinary Ways, has brought you from the bottom of the Mountains to place you on the Throne, even by your Enemies Arms, any more than the Services which, in your greatest Extremities, you have received from the Reformed, since their Enemy's ill Offices sufficiently put you in mind thereof. On the contrary they believe, that if you think of your self once a day, you can hardly help thinking of your Conscience towards God, and of your former Affection for your former Servants all the Year round.

But, SIR, they also argue in this manner, if in the midst of his Prosperity he has forgotten us, if when God has granted him so many signal Victories, he has not taken any care to restore us at least to our Liberty; what will he, or what will he not do, after this Change? Where shall he find Resolution enough, amidst so many Contradictions, to do us good? And who can warrant us, that those who have had Power enough to shake his Conscience, shall not have enough to force his Will, and to make an ill use of his Authority? To this are added the insolent Discourses of some *Roman Catholics*; the Instances of the Time past are also alledged; and to all this no other satisfactory

*Reformation, and of the* VOL. IV.  
 Answer can be given, but what is in-  
 Henry IV. from your Magnanimity and Constancy.  
 1591. which however have been both slackened as  
 to what concerns God, as to what concerns your  
 own Souls; and therefore they again infer from  
 thence, What will he not do as to what con-  
 cerns others? How shall he be more courageous  
 and constant in behalf of his Subjects? In what  
 shall he be more tender, when he has been so  
 little as to his Duty towards God? How shall he  
 be more virtuous for us, than for himself? For  
 indeed, there is a far greater Distance between  
 true Religion and Idolatry, than between I-  
 dolatry and Persecution; from Good to Evil  
 there must be some Effort, some Steps to leap  
 over, but from one Evil to another it is plain  
 Ground, the Transition is so easy, how great  
 soever the Crime be, that it is scarce per-  
 ceived.

See, SIR, by what Steps they have brought  
 you to Mass, they say, you desire a Reforma-  
 tion; we are full of Errors. Enter only into  
 the Church, and you will reform them. But  
 before you was admitted, they forced you to  
 the grossest and most unwarrantable Practices.  
 Those who are deemed by every one not to be-  
 lieve in God, have made you swear to the I-  
 mages, Relicks, Purgatory, Indulgencies, &c.

They told you, SIR, Give your People that  
 Satisfaction, you shall believe what you please of  
 it, as little of the Mass as you will, only let the  
 People see you there, with a Veil between, if you  
 please. But what Rigour have they not kept  
 with you? They have forced you to swear a-  
 gainst your own Conscience, and to recant in  
 the most precise and the less tolerable manner,  
 which they would not have required of a Ma-  
 bometan, or a Jew. In a word, they have de-  
 lighted

lighted in triumphing over your Faith ; a Faith <sup>Henry IV.</sup> which heretofore had withstood so many Temp-<sup>1593.</sup>tations and triumphed over them, when *Satan*, <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> to make you forsake God, offered you the <sup>ment VIII</sup> World with all its Pomp, and when the World despised by you armed all its Monarchies against you.

The most cunning made you believe, SIR, that this was the best way to get Satisfaction from the Pope ; to deprive him of his usurped Authority in your Kingdom ; which done you would call a National Council, and by that means put an end to the Schism, which hath long since afflicted the Church, a Work worthy a most Christian King. But look how well they have provided for this. They made you swear as an Article of Faith, the Pope's Authority. What then becomes of your Parliaments, and their Decrees ? And to hinder all Conferences, they force you in the most express Words to believe all their Interpretations under the pretended Name of the Church ; where is then the Necessity of assembling a Council ? And what can we expect better from it, than from that of *Trent* ?

Your poor Subjects see, that by the same Way, you will be led further. They see you submitting yourself to *Rome* ; they knew that without Penance, there can be no Absolution. They read that in the like Cases, *Popes* have oftentimes imposed on your Predecessors to go beyond Seas against the Infidels. They are assured, SIR, that before it be long the *Pope* will send you the consecrated Sword, and order you to wage War against the Hereticks, including under that Name the most Christian and Loyal *Frenchmen*, the wholesomest part of your Subjects.


That



Henry IV. That Order will at first look very hard to you; it will offend your Good-Nature, no doubt of it. *To wage war against my most faithful Servants, whose Blood I have drank in my Necessities!* But they will find Means enough to mitigate it, SIR, since you have gone so far, you must go on; you must make yourself peaceable and easy at any rate; grant it them at last, to take away all their Pretences, try only for three or four Months, you will be acknowledged. When you will have regained your Authority, you will restore them unto Peace; a Petition shall be then tendered to you to that effect; your People tired with Sufferings will beg it of you on their Knees. (*Such will be the Arguments made use of to ensnare your Majesty, you will be allayed by them; you will enter into their Measures; and gratify their Passions. What will be the Consequence of this?*) He who formerly defended you, will take up arms against you; and against such an Enemy, there is neither Counsel or Strength. They will oblige you to burn your good Subjects, as a Bonfire for the Peace concluded with the *League*, you will put in flames with your own Hands the Rubbish of your Kingdom.

These are, SIR, the Discourses of your poor Reformed Subjects; and considering the Transactions of that Conference (at *Surenne*) they are inclined to believe that things will come to pass as they imagine, and most humbly beseech your Majesty to represent it to yourself, as it were in a Picture.

That Conference has been set on foot by a Body who did not care to be authorized by you; it was suspected even at that time, by all honest People, and since that time it has proved too pernicious to yourself. The first Condition has been,

seen, that they should not treat therein either Henry IV. about the Heretick or with the Heretick, and <sup>1593.</sup> *Pope Cle-* such was you then reputed amongst them. *ment VIII* Who does not see, that their Scheme was laid  against you, and against us? Against you whose Conscience they have forced, and whom they hope to exasperate against us by degrees.

They represented to you the League ready to receive you with open Arms, the great Cities striving who should first open their Gates, the Governours of others bringing you their Keys from all Parts. SIR, where is now the Gentleman, where the little paltry Town? and where have all these fine Promises ended? but to this; *show us that your Conversion is not a feigned one; let the Pope interpose his Authority; let us see you absolved.* And in the mean while, they monopolize your Penance, that is to say, they will impose upon you the Obligation of waging War against us.

For hath not the Truce, to all true *Frenchmen's* grief, reduced you to be only a Chief of Party, even after your pretended Conversion, whereby you was, as they say, to be acknowledged King? Did not *Paris* shut up its Gates to you instead of opening them, as you was promised? And those Advisers of yours have they not deprived you of the only means of reducing that City, (*viz.* thro' Want and Famine, by opening the Passages for carrying Provisions into it? If you make a Peace proportionable to this Truce, SIR, as it seems you are going to do, what can they expect but that of a King being made Chief of a Party by the Truce, you shall become by the Peace from Chief of a Party their Captain General against the *Hugonots*?

Whereupon,

Henry IV. Whereupon, SIR, your most humble Re-  
<sup>1593.</sup>  
*Pope Cle-*  
*ment VIII* formed Subjects say, that that Peace could not  
 be treated by the Catholicks with your Enemies, without their being called and admitted into it, without a manifest Iniquity, and affording a just Occasion of Jealousy; for why should not those who were called into a Suit commenced against the League, be also called to the Agreement? Is it just that those, who in their Extremities desired to be assisted by the Reformed under your Authority, when the late King knew not whither to retire, in the *Limosine* or in *Britanny*; when the Duke of *Mayenne* held him, and they too, as it were, by the Throat; who were restored to, or maintained in their Honours and Estates; is it just, I say, that now those very Persons should negotiate a Peace with the League, without including their Benefactors and Defenders in the Treaty? They, who (besides that Obligation) make a part of the State, as well as them; and perhaps more sound, less passionate, as to what concerns your Majesty and the State.

Consequently too an Occasion of Jealousy: For what can be the aim of this Precaution at the very beginning of the Treaty, not to admit the Reformed? unless it be, to resolve at their cost all the Difficulties which may therein occur, to make the whole Storm fall upon them, as it did upon you by the Edict of *Union*; for to imagine that the Clergy will turn their Advocates, is that likely, since they have already dared to propose to you the utter Extirpation of Heresy? To you, SIR, who had but just quitted the Profession which they call so?

Neither can the Reformed be satisfied with saying, that your Majesty has sent for the Deputies, to be present at the Conference of the

25th of July, seeing that your Letters of Summons sent into *Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné*, could hardly reach the Churches of these Provinces before the 1st of *August*, and in the mean while they treat not only without them, but of them, of their Condition, of their Posterity; while Promises are extorted from your Majesty against them, and to their prejudice, to evade and make void, whatever may hereafter be done in conjunction with them.

Henry IV.  
1593.  
Pope Clement VIII

To these Jealousies Facts are added, betokening the evil Designs of those who possess you, and Forerunners of more dangerous things to come. The Liberty of Preaching is taken from your Court, in order to exile the Reformed from your Household, for who can or will live there and serve you, without the Worship of God? They have banished it even from your Armies, in order to remove them from your Service, and consequently from all Offices and Honours. For what honest Man can subsist there, every day being exposed to the Danger of being wounded, or killed, without any Hope of Comfort? Without any Assurance of being buried after his Death. Their Enemies meditate to exclude them from the chief Offices of the State, of the Law, of the Exchequer, of the Police; tho' their Modesty and Patience as to that hath been such that they may call your Majesty to witness, that they did not much importune you about it. But they do intreat you to judge, whether it is reasonable that they should do their Children the Injustice to deprive them, by their Supineness, of their Birth-Right, to be hereafter deemed in this Kingdom, like Jews, or Moors, instead of the ~~of~~ Titles of Honour which they could have derived from their Ancestors,

Henry IV. cessors, and which the Services done to your Majesty deserve.

1593.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

How tolerable, say they, was it for us to live under the Benefit of the Truce made with the late King, tho' an Enemy to our Religion, whereby he granted us the free Exercise of it in his Army; and at his Court, had our Ministers paid out of his Exchequer, gave us cautionary Towns in each Seneschal-ship or Bailiwick; and at the end of the Year was to restore us, in their whole, all the former Edicts?

To all this your good Servants know not what to answer. Formerly they were used to say, *have patience*, the proper time is not come yet, but that time is gone. The Fruits are grown rotten as they grew ripe. But they cannot conceal to you, that the Spirits are in a great Ferment, they pass from Expectation of Good to the Expectation of Evil; from their long and needless Patience, to the Search of a Remedy. And you, SIR, we know it very well, you are not free from some Dread thereof, you will not be well pleased to see another PROTECTOR; you will be jealous if they make their Address elsewhere than to yourself.

SIR, have you a mind to deter them from any such Thought? remove the Necessity of a Protector: be their Protector yourself, continue unto them that former Care, that former Affection; prevent of your own accord their humble Petitions, and their just Demands by a free Grant of the necessary Things. When they shall know that you vouchsafe to take care of them, they shall take none of themselves. But, do forgive any one who shall tell you, that they all question whether you take care enough of yourself. You know yourself what can hurt them, and what may do them good. The  
Petitions

Petitions which you did tender formerly in Henry IV. their Name to the Kings your Predecessors <sup>1593.</sup> for their Liberty, their Security, their Dignity, tender them to yourself, far from being less grounded upon Justice than they were heretofore; contrary-wise they have been loaded since that time with good and faithful Services, *which deserve your Attention*; you can report, and redress their just Grievances; and be, if you please, without any other Deputies, the Judge and the Advocate; the Grantor and the Grantee all together (o). <sup>1593.</sup> Pope Clement VIII

THE King was extremely moved by that LXXIX. Letter, which indeed was very free, and even something rash in some Places, wherein the noble Author pretends to foretel what would be the Consequence of His Majesty's Change; but that must be ascribed to his unfeigned Zeal for his Religion, and to his sincere Attachment to the King's Interest, and the Good of his Soul, which carried him too far out of the Rules of true Policy on this Occasion. *Reflections upon that Letter.*

For whoever shall consider impartially the Circumstances of those Times, shall necessarily own that the King had but one of these three Courses to follow, either to do what he did, or to resolve upon a continual War for all his Life, or to renounce the Crown of *France* and rest satisfied with that of *Navarre*.

The League, as we have observed, was weakened, but in a Condition to recover its Strength, nay, to become stronger than ever, should the King of *Spain* exert himself to the utmost of his Power. That Prince was indeed

(o) Vie de Du Plessis, liv. ii, p 201—207. Memoires de Du Plessis, Tom. II. I have related it word for word, as much as possible; but in a few Places I have taken only the Meaning.

Henry IV. something weary of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who  
 1593. Pope Cle- thwarted under-hand his Designs, but could he  
 ment VIII have had any certain Prospect of bringing about  
 { the Election of the *Infanta* his Daughter, or of  
 reaping some other considerable Advantage, for  
 all his Troubles and the vast Expences he was at  
 for keeping his Party alive, by the means of the  
 General States, certainly he would have stuck  
 at nothing nor spared no Money or Men ; and  
 at this time he was not without hopes of com-  
 passing his Ends. Tho' the General States  
 seemed so much averse to the Propositions of  
 the *Spaniards*, nevertheless it was not very dif-  
 ficult to bring them in ; nothing else was to be  
 done for that purpose but to devise a means  
 whereby to satisfy the *Spaniards* without of-  
 fending against the *Salique Law*, that GREAT  
 IDOL of the *French* Nation ; and that means they  
 had in hand, viz. to put aside the King, and  
 elect one of the Princes of the Blood in his  
 stead ; they had especially three, the Cardinal of  
*Bourbon*, the Count of *Soissons*, and the Prince  
 of *Conty*, all three good Catholics, each of  
 whom would have been very glad to accept the  
 Crown upon the Terms offered by the *Spa-  
 niards* of sharing it with the *Infanta*. The  
 Duke of *Mayenne* would have gladly joined to  
 that Interest out of Jealousy against the other  
 Princes of his own House, whom he could not  
 bear to see raised above him ; and it cannot be  
 denied, the Cardinal of *Bourbon* had a great In-  
 terest, not only in the King's Party, but also in  
 the Leaguers' ; and indeed he stood very fair  
 for the Crown at this time, tho' he feigned to  
 decline the Proposition sent to him at *Gaillon*  
 by the Duke of *Mayenne* as abovesaid ; but in  
 this case we may safely say of him what has  
 been said of JOHN the FASTER, when he de-

clined his Election to the Patriarchal See of *Henry IV.*  
*Constantinople*: ET FUGIT AD SALICES, ET  
 SE CUPIT ANTE VIDERI. <sup>1593.</sup>  
*Pope Cle-*  
*ment VIII*

In a word, it is certain that not only the Officers of the old Court and the Catholick Lords that followed the King were tired with the War, and had openly declared to his Majesty, that they were fully resolved to forsake him and make their Agreement with the League the best they could, did he not proceed instantly and without delay to his Instruction; that is to say in the Catholick Phrase, to turn Catholick; but that the whole Kingdom, I mean the Catholicks, were fully bent to have no King but a Catholick, they must proceed without delay to the Election of a King, they must have one, but that one ought to be a Catholick. The States assembled at *Paris* had already appointed a Day for that Election, and were resolved to give *Henry IV.* the Exclusion as an obstinate Heretick; so that had he put off only for a Fortnight longer to publish his Resolution to turn Catholick upon such a Day, he was undone to all Intents and Purposes.

For what could he have done alone with his Reformed Subjects? Could he cope with the Catholicks, one against fifteen at that time? The Queen of *England*, the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, the Protestant Cantons would have sent to his Assistance. But how could he rely on either? Queen *Elizabeth* had failed him at the Siege of *Rouën*, and had occasioned his Miscarriage before that Place, only on the Earl of *Essex*'s account. And was he in a condition to gratify the Greediness and insatiable Avarice of the *Germans* and *Switzers*, who would not stir without Money? and suppose that Queen *Elizabeth* would have drained her



Henry IV. Kingdoms of Men and Money; suppose, that  
 1593. thro' a Miracle, the *Germans* and *Switzers*  
 Pope Cle- would have turned generous, what would that  
 ment VIII have signified against the whole Power of *France*,  
 { *Spain*, *Italy*, the *Catholick Cantons*, the House  
 of *Austria*, &c? Could they have long subsisted  
 before these formidable Enemies. Besides that  
 one must be exceedingly sanguine, who can re-  
 solve to pass his Days and spend his whole  
 Life in a bloody Civil War, attended with all  
 those dreadful Circumstances that are usually  
 concomitant therewith, to make of a fine King-  
 dom a continual Vulcan; of so many rich and  
 populous Cities, so many frightful Desarts; to  
 put every thing topsy-turvy, without knowing  
 when there will be an end, and all that for the  
 sake of a Man of his Opinions. Is that Chri-  
 stianity? But read what our great Lawgiver  
 Luke ix. says, *Ye know not what manner of Spirit ye are*  
 54, 55. *of, for the Son of Man is not come to destroy*  
*Men's Lives, but to save them.*

Whereas then the *French* would have no  
 King who was not a *Catholick*. Whereas  
*Henry* was not in a condition to force them to  
 receive him, and that it was a cruel inhuman  
 thing to engage the Kingdom in a perpetual  
 Civil War; it remained that he should turn *Ca-*  
*tholick* or renounce his Title to the Crown: and  
 as this last was more agreeable to Christianity,  
 so would it have much more redounded to his  
 Honour and Glory. But *Henry* was none of those  
 who think themselves in Conscience bound to  
 sacrifice their worldly Advantages in order to  
 obtain unfading ones hereafter, he was carnal as  
 much as any Man in the World; and such be-  
 ing his Temper, he could not do better than  
 to change as he did; he followed the Rules of  
 true Policy, he acted the part of a good worldly  
 Prince,

Prince, but not that of a Christian. So much I have thought proper to say concerning that memorable Event, against those who have consulted only their Zeal for Religion, without giving any heed to the Circumstances either of Times or of Things, and what I have said upon this account is grounded not upon meer Conjecture, but upon Matters of Fact (p).

Henry IV.  
1593.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

*Du Plessis* arrived at *Chartres* in the Month of *September*, and was no sooner alighted, but was sent for by his Majesty, who gave him a private Audience, wherein he excused what he had done upon the Necessity of the Times; *that he had been obliged to sacrifice himself for his Subjects, even that he might be in a condition of procuring more easily some Rest to the Reformed.* To which *Du Plessis* replied, that there were several better means, had he been willing to make use of them; and that his Reformed Subjects would have chose rather to sacrifice themselves a thousand times for his Salvation.

LXXX.  
*Du Plessis'*  
*Conference*  
*with the*  
*King.*

Several other Discourses passed between His Majesty and that Lord, especially concerning his Abjuration, which the King denied to have made, saying, that the Paper wherein it was contained had been subscribed not with his own Hand, but *Lomenie's* his Secretary, who counterfeited his Hand mighty well. To which *Du Plessis* answered, that this was a shift whereby God Almighty could not be deceived, seeing that it had been done by his Orders, and sent to the *Pope* as his own, and with his Consent, and that he would be very sorry did the *Pope* question in the least its being authentic. *Du Plessis* made no long stay at Court at this time, because His Majesty desired that he would con-

(p) D'Aubigné, Tom. III. liv. iii. ch. xxiv. D'Avila, Tom. II. liv. xiii.

Henry IV. fer with the Deputies of the Churches before  
 1593. they should come to him at *Mantes*, where they  
 Pope Cle- were appointed.  
 ment VIII

LXXXI. They had been summoned by the King's  
*The Deput-* Letters sent by the Lords of *Viçouze* and *Beau-*  
*ties of the* *champ*, to meet together by their Deputies in  
*Reformed* that City, on the 20th of *July*; but *Du Plessis*  
*arrive at* having examined their Letters, and seeing that  
*Mantes.* they were directed only to some of the most e-  
 minent Ministers, and some of the Lords and  
 Gentlemen of the greatest Interest in the Pro-  
 vinces; and being informed that his Majesty  
 was resolved to change, he thought proper to  
 alter and reform the Dispatches as the King had  
 given leave to do; but his Change occasioned  
 some new Alteration, and the Reformed in the  
 Provinces were at a stand to know what to do  
 when they had been certified of that Event,  
 Nevertheless *Du Plessis* exhorted them to set  
 out on their Journey, shewing forth that they  
 were not sent to dispute about Religion, but to  
 settle the Condition of the Churches in the pre-  
 sent Circumstances, whereto they complied,  
 They arrived at *Saumur* to the Number of  
 sixty. The Court endeavoured to reduce them  
 to six that should wait upon his Majesty, and  
 that the others should remain at *Vendôme*.  
 Whereupon *Du Plessis* remonstrated, that by  
 that means they would deprive them of a Sa-  
 tisfaction which they all desired, to know the  
 King's Intention from his own Mouth; that  
 his Majesty would deprive himself of the Ad-  
 vantage of sending them all contented back into  
 their Provinces; and that his said Majesty was  
 better acquainted with their Tempers than those  
 who gave him such Counsel, that he knew very  
 well that such a Choice of some of the Depu-  
 ties

ties would be attended with great Jealousies amongst them all. Henry IV.

That Advice prevailed at last, and it was agreed that they should be all admitted to the King's Audience, for which purpose they came to *Mantes* in October, and *Du Plessis* with them. During that time the King was gone to *Dieppe* to secure the Fort of *Fescamp*, which had been of late delivered unto him by the Governour. Here his Council endeavoured to keep him and prolong the time of the Audience promised to the Deputies. But upon *Du Plessis*'s strong Remonstrances, his Majesty was at last prevailed to come back to *Mantes* without any further Delay. There he gave the Deputies a very kind Audience, he received their general Petition, and was graciously pleased to promise them a Redress of their Grievances.

Here again, *D'O* and several others of his Majesty's Privy Council insisted upon a Delay of three Months, saying, that if their Petition was examined and answered before the Pope had received Satisfaction, that would make him more stiff, &c. But the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Lord *Du Plessis* remonstrated, that by that means the Result of that Assembly would prove quite the reverse of what the King expected; that it would put in a Ferment those who ought to be appeased; that the *Reformed Churches* had nothing at all to do with *Rome*, and by several other strong Arguments they carried their point, and by the King's Orders their Petition was examined by Chancellor of *Chiverny*, *D'O*, *Believre*, *Schomberg*, *Pontcarré*, *Chandon*, Members of the Privy Council, *De Fresne Forget*, Secretary of State, who were all Catholics; they had several Conferences with the Deputies, and owned freely that they knew not where to

Henry IV. make a Beginning. So that the King ordered  
 1593. the Duke of *Bouillon* and *Du Plessis* to join  
 Pope Cle- themselves with the former. An Order was  
 ment VIII  
 ~~~~~ settled amongst them, viz. that the Lords *Du Plessis*, and *Calignon* Chancellor of *Navarre*, with the Lords of *Champigny* and *Chandon*, should meet every Day in the Afternoon at *Du Plessis's* Lodgings, there to make the first Draught of the Articles that were to be proposed to the whole Assembly. It was unanimously agreed to offer the Reformed the following Articles.

*Articles  
 consented to  
 in their  
 behalf.*

That the Edict of 1577, the Conferences of *Nerac* and *Flex*, and the secret Articles be restored unto them, and put in execution; repealing all other Edicts published against them since that time by the League. That in order to make a Compensation for the Changes and Alterations occasioned by the Troubles, a particular Regulation should be made, to be as a Rule to the Lord Chancellor and the Secretaries of State, wherefrom they could not recede; whereof notice should be given to the Parliaments and other Magistrates throughout the Provinces, when Occasion should require it. That the Roman Religion should be settled again in the Places wherefrom it had been banished, without any Prejudice to the Reformed Religion. That in the Cities under the King's Obedience the free Exercise of the Reformed Religion should be allowed, for the greater safety of the Professors thereof: Even at Court during the Residence of MADAME the King's Sister; but in her Absence, with some little Restraining; in the Lords Houses, without singing of Psalms; especially in the Dukes of *Bouillon*, *La Trimouille*, *Roban*, and the Lord *Du Plessis*, their Houses. In the Army, the King present  
 or

or not, in the Tents of the Captains of *Gens-Armes* and the Colonels. That these Articles should be exactly observed, notwithstanding any Oath taken or to be taken to the contrary. (This was added, because of the King's Coronation, and the holding of a Chapter of the Order of the HOLY GHOST, both of which Ceremonies were near at an end, and in both they swear the Destruction of Hereticks.) That Provision should be made for the Maintenance of the Ministers, according to the List of them certified by the Provinces, and that the Stock so provided shall be employed under the Name of the King's Sister. That all Legacies made by the Reformed to their Churches and their Poor shall be good and lawful, and the Executors, Administrators, &c. might be compelled to pay them. That the Children should be brought up in the Religion of their Parents, even tho' they should die without a Will. That it should be free for the Reformed to build and endow Colleges for their Youth's Instruction and Education. This last Article, by common Agreement of all, was not set down in writing.

There was no further Provision made for the Security of the Reformed, but notwithstanding the reiterated Remonstrances of their Deputies, they could obtain nothing else, but to hold their Provincial Assemblies to acquaint their Principals with the Success of their Deputation, and then to hold a National Synod and a General Political Assembly, and so they were dismissed; but before they parted they renewed, in the face of the Court at *Mantes*, their former Association under the King's Authority, which had been ratified formerly in several Assemblies, namely, at *Nimes*, *Millaud*, *Montauban*, and *Rocbelle*,

Henry IV. *Rochelle*, to live and die for the Maintenance  
 1593. and Defence of their Confession of Faith pre-  
 Pope Cle- sented to the late King in 1560 and 1561, and  
 ment VIII  
 { they declared to his Majesty that they were resolu-  
 ved so to do. Whereupon the King told them,  
 that they did well, but exhorted them to be  
 sober and prudent. That Negotiation lasted to  
 the latter end of *January* 1594 (q).

LXXXII. Before we make an end of this Year 1593,  
*Several* we must briefly relate some Occurrences that  
*Occurren-* happened since the King's Change. The drift  
*ces since* of the *Spaniards* and the obstinate *Leaguers*  
*the King's* was, to render that Change suspicious; they de-  
*Change.* claimed against it in *France*, and in the foreign  
 Countries, especially at *Rome*, where the Duke  
 of *Nevers* sent by the King was haughtily and  
 scornfully received by the Pope, who refused  
 to hearken to any Reconciliation between the  
 King and his See. And not satisfied with that,  
 they attempted to murder his Majesty, by the  
 means of one BARRIERE a Waterman of Or-  
 Barriere's, leans, who having been seduced particularly by  
 Attempt. Jesuit V A R A D E, was seized at *Melun* with  
 a large Knife fit for that purpose; he owned  
 his Intention was to murder the King, and was  
 sentenced to be pinched with red-hot Pincers,  
 to have his Hand with the Knife hanging to it  
 burnt, to be broken alive upon the Wheel, and  
 be burnt alive, which Sentence was executed  
 upon him; that happened about the latter end  
 of *August*.

*Trace with* Now whereas the Cities shewed an Inclination  
*the Lea-* for acknowledging the King after his Change,  
*guers.* and waited only to be assailed for surrendering  
 themselves, the Duke of *Mayenne* found no  
 better means to retard the Ruin of his Party  
 than

(q) Vie de Du Plessis, liv. ii. pag. 208--212. Thuan.  
 lib. cviii.

than by proposing a Truce with his Majesty, Henry IV. which was consented to, tho' by the knavery of <sup>1593.</sup> his Party, it was treated not as between the King <sup>Pope Clement VIII</sup> and his Subjects, but as between two Parties upon equal footing, the King not being so much as named in it. It began the last Day of July, and was to end the last of October; but it was continued for three Months longer (r).

Queen *Elizabeth* feigned to be much concerned at the King's Change, she wrote to him the following Letter.

“ I T is hardly possible to express the ex- <sup>Queen Elizabeth's</sup>  
 “ treme Grief and Dissatisfaction which has <sup>Letter to</sup>  
 “ seized me upon *Morlant's* Representation of <sup>the King.</sup>  
 “ Things. Good God! what a miserable  
 “ World do we live in? Could I have ever  
 “ thought, SIR, that any worldly Considera-  
 “ tion could have prevailed with you to dis-  
 “ card a just Sense of God and his Fear? Or  
 “ can you ever reasonably expect that Provi-  
 “ dence will grant this Change of yours a  
 “ happy Issue? Or could you entertain any  
 “ Fear or Suspicion that the gracious God,  
 “ who had so long supported and preserved  
 “ you, would fail, and abandon you at last?  
 “ It is, believe me, a dangerous Experiment,  
 “ *to do evil that good may come.* But I hope  
 “ you may be yet recover'd to a better Inclina-  
 “ tion, even the Spirit of a sound Mind.  
 “ In the mean time, I shall not cease to recom-  
 “ mend your Case to God in my daily Prayers,  
 “ and earnestly beseech him that *Esau's* Hands  
 “ may not pollute the Blessing and Birth-right  
 “ of *Jacob*. The Promise you make of a sa-  
 “ cred and friendly Alliance, I conceive my  
 “ self to have deserved, and even earned at a  
 “ vast



Henry IV. “ vast Expence: but I had not mattered that,  
 1593. “ had you still kept yourself the Son of the  
 Pope Cle- “ same Father. From henceforth I cannot  
 ment VIII “ look on myself as your Sister, in respect to our  
 “ common Father, for I must and shall always  
 “ pay a much greater regard to Choice than  
 “ Nature in that relation; as I may appeal to  
 “ God, whom I beseech to recover you into  
 “ the Path of a safer and sounder Judgment.

*Your Sister after the old-fashioned way,  
 as for the new, I have nothing to do  
 with it,*

ELIZABETH (s).

Nothing more Godly and Christian-like can be seen than that Letter; but if *Brandt's* Abbreviator is to be credited, who will think, that the great Queen *Elizabeth* who wrote it, was the same Queen *Elizabeth* who seventeen Years before returned the following Answer to *St. Allegonde, Buis* and *Malson* Embassadors of the States of *Holland* and *Zeland* at her Court? *Poor People*, says she, *would it not have been better for you to go to Mass, than to expose yourselves to so many Evils? If you don't believe in it, why don't you go to it as to a Puppet-Show? You see that I am drest in white; and if, at this Instant, I had a mind to play a Comedy, would you think it a Crime to be present at it?* Perhaps she had changed since that time. However *Henry's* Change caused no real Alteration in that great and wise Princess's Conduct towards him; she continued to assist him with Men and Money (t).  
 The

(s) *Rapin's History of England*, Tom. II. Book xvii. p. 142. Edition of 1733.

(t) *Histoire abrégée de la Reformation des Pays-bas*, Tom. I. liv. xi. p. 237. à la Haye 1726.

The Truce granted to the Duke of *Mayenne* Henry IV. and accepted by him, exceedingly chagrined <sup>1593.</sup> the *Pope's Legate* at *Paris*; he declaimed a- <sup>Pope Cle- ment VIII</sup> gainst it, as if it had been a Sin against the Ho- <sup>Council of Trent re- ceived by the State.</sup> ly Ghost, his mercenary Preachers thundered from their Pulpits; and to be short, nothing could make amends for it, and satisfy his Eminence but the Reception and Publication of the Council of *Trent*, which indeed was received without Restriction, by part of the States assembled at *Paris*; but his Joy was not of a long Duration, for what that Assembly had done at this time, could never be ratified after the surrender of *Paris*; and notwithstanding the pressing Instances of the Clergy, it was at last rejected by the King in 1606 (v).

The Truce being at an end, it was debated <sup>1594.</sup> in the King's Council whether it was proper to <sup>LXXXIII</sup> grant a further Prolongation; but whereas it <sup>The War renewed.</sup> was certainly known that the Enemies had nothing else in view but to spin out the time, to the end that the Courts of *Spain* and *Rome* might have enough for resolving upon the Subsidies and Troops that were to be sent to the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Guise*, for which purpose their Deputies were negotiating in these two Courts; it was agreed to grant no further time, and to renew the Hostilities (u).

That Resolution was no sooner published but it was attended with extraordinary good Success. The King was crowned at *Chartres* on the 27th of *February*. *Aix* acknowledged him, several Commanders and Governours of Places and Provinces were glad of this Opportunity of securing their Fortunes, by making the best bargain

(v) Thuan. lib. cvii. p. 374. lib. cxxiii. p. 893. lib. cxxiv. p. 1195—6. lib. cxxxvi. p. 1246.  
(\*) Idem, lib. cviii.

Henry IV. bargain they could for the Places and Provinces they held. The Marquis of *Vitry* surrendered <sup>1594.</sup> *Meaux* and renounced the *League*; *D'Alincourt*, Son to *Villeroy*, surrendered *Pontoise*, and was not forgetful of his own Concerns. The Marshal of *La Chatres* followed the Stream, with *Orleans* and the *Orleannefe*, *Bourges* and the *Berry* (x).

*Several Provinces and Cities acknowledge the King.*

*Paris surrenders.*

But the best Acquisition of all was *Paris* itself. On the 22d of *March*; the Count of *Brissac* Governour thereof surrendered it to the King, upon Promise of being created Marshal of *France*; he acted in Concert with the Parliament, and the most eminent Burgeffes. The *Spanish* Embassador, and the *Pope's* Legate quitted the City the same day, with what foreign Troops they had with them. That was done without any other blood shed besides that of 25 or 30 *Lanskenets*, who had a mind to resist. In the Afternoon the Shops were opened, and every thing was as easy in the City, as in time of Peace. On the 30th of the same Month, the Parliament enacted that whatever had been done or written since the 29th of *December* 1588, against the last and the present Kings, should be buried in an eternal Oblivion; the Accomplices in the late King's Murder and the Abettors thereof, as well as the Murderers of the President *Briffon*, and of the two Counsellors, their Abettors and Accomplices were only excepted. On the 2d of *April* the Rector of the University begged the King's pardon for the past Excesses; and on the 22d, the Faculty of Divinity recanted all their Decrees and Decisions made since the beginning of the *League* against *Henry III.* and the present King, and declared that the whole Nation

(x) Idem Ibid.

## BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 159

Nation was in duty bound to acknow-<sup>Henry IV.</sup>  
ledge *Henry IV.* for their lawful Sovereign, <sup>1594-</sup>  
and to obey him, notwithstanding he had not <sup>Pope Cle-</sup>  
as yet received the Pope's Absolution. Most <sup>ment VIII</sup>  
part of the seditious Preachers, and some of the  
Sixteen, chose to follow the *Spaniards* rather  
than to submit.

The Surrender of *Paris* had been preceded <sup>LXXXIV</sup>  
by that of *Lyons*, where the Duke of *Nemours* <sup>Several o-</sup>  
was arrested and sent Prisoner to *Pierre Ancise*. <sup>thers fol-</sup>  
It was likewise followed by the Reduction of <sup>low the</sup>  
*Rouën*; *Villars* Governour thereof made his <sup>Example</sup>  
Treaty with the King, he kept the Post of <sup>of Paris.</sup>  
Admiral: *Havre de Grace*, *Harfleur*, *Pont-Au-*  
*demar*, *Verneuil*, submitted themselves at the  
same time. Each Day was remarkable by some  
new Loss of the League. *Troye*, *Agen*, *Pe-*  
*renne*, *Sens*, renounced it; *Laon* besieged by  
the King, surrendered after two Months Siege.  
The Duke of *Elbæuf* engaged *Poitiers* to sub-  
mit. The Marshal of *Aumont*, assisted by the  
*English* Fleet, retook *Quimper* and *Morlaix* in  
*low Brittany*, the *Spaniards* were driven out  
of *Brest*; *St. Malo* came of its own accord un-  
der the King's Obedience; *Amiens*, *Albeville*,  
*Dourlens*, and *Beauvais* did the same; and to  
complete the Prosperities of this Year 1594, the  
Duke of *Guise* made his Agreement with the  
King, and surrendered *Rheims*, *Rocroi*, *St. Di-*  
*dier*, *Guise* and several other Places and Castles.

But all these Advantages were got at the <sup>LXXXV.</sup>  
Cost of the poor Reformed; the Leaguers ne-<sup>Sad Con-</sup>  
ver failed to stipulate in their Treaty some Ar-<sup>dition of</sup>  
ticles or other to the prejudice of the former, <sup>the Re-</sup>  
and they saw themselves deprived by degrees, <sup>formed.</sup>  
almost of all the Privileges granted them by  
the Edict of 1577, which however was to be  
the Standard of their Liberties, and of all the  
future

served as a precedent for all others. I rue that all the Cities and Towns did not shew like Aversion against the Reformed, but all agreed as to this, that no other Religion besides the Catholick should be publicly professed within their Walls.

Some of these Treaties made between the King and his rebellious Subjects the Leagues were published before the Reformed could see the Political and the Ecclesiastical Affairs which they had been allowed to hold ; so that they had time to see what they were to expect from the Reconciliation of these their old enemies with the King. Another ground of their Jealousies, was the Favour into which the *Jesuits* had crept at Court, especially since the Reduction of *Paris*. Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the Duke of *Nevers* supported them with their might against the Oppositions of the University ; and many other Lords openly protected them. They had a strong Party in Parliament ; the King himself, who was brought to any thing which he thought conducive to the *Pope's* softening, favo

that Society, and shewed how formidable their Credit and Power was; and indeed they had increased in 53 Years to that degree, that they possessed 228 Houses and two Millions of Livres, yearly Rent in *France*, which was owing to their turbulent and restless Spirit, their Avarice and boundless Ambition. The Reformed and many of the wisest amongst the Catholics beheld the Settlement of that Society in *France*, as a thing very prejudicial to the Kingdom. But the Attempt of *John Chastel* upon the King's Person put an end to that Law-Suit, by the latter end of this Year.

Henry IV.  
1594.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

In a word, the Condition of the Reformed was very precarious at this Time, and seemed past all Recovery. They held a National Synod at *Montauban*, which opened its Sessions on the 15th of *June*. None had been assembled since that of *Vitré* in 1583; but this of *Montauban*, a City far remote from Court, and very jealous for Religion and the common Cause, made amends for that long Interval of Time lost. Affairs of great Importance were debated therein.

LXXXVI  
The thir-  
teenth Na-  
tional Sy-  
nod.

Their first Care was to order publick Prayers to be put up in all their Churches over the Kingdom for the King's Prosperity; to the end that it might appear that they did not think themselves disingaged either from obeying or serving him, tho' he had forsaken their Religion; and that there was a wide difference between them and several Orders of Monks, who refused to pray for his Majesty, tho' he was a Catholic and had been crowned with the usual Ceremonies. But at the same time, lest this Mark of the Synod's Affection to the King's Prosperity should be mistaken for a tacit Ap- probation or Dissimulation of his Change, they

Henry IV. ordered that Prayers should be put up for his Majesty's Conversion; and that the Ministers that were still at Court, or should be sent there, should tell him of his Duty to God in that respect.

<sup>1594.</sup>  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

Then they took into their Consideration the Conduct of the Churches of the *Isle of France*. They had fallen into a Snare of the Court, who had given them a Taste of a Project of Accommodation with the Catholicks, under pretence of uniting with them in defence of the Liberties of the *Gallican Church* against the *Pope's* Usurpations. Therefore they sent their Deputies to the Synod, with Charge to propose the said Union; and to add another for naming proper Persons on both sides, to whom the two Parties, Reformed and Catholicks, should refer themselves for the Decision of the controverted Points between them. And because the Court did not relish well the frequent Assemblies either Ecclesiastical or Political of the Reformed, the said Deputies were also charged to require that it should be enacted that the said Assemblies should be held but rarely and only upon very important Occasions. The Mischief proceeded from hence: The Courtiers lost no Opportunity of laying before the Reformed Nobility and Gentry of that Province, amongst whom they lived, the King's Power, who gathered new Strength every day; they gave them to understand that if they were over-nice to-day, they might have occasion to repent to-morrow, and by such Threatnings as well as by fair Promises, they had engaged them to take that Step. But the Synod which sat in a Place of Security, was not so weak as to relish those Proposals, which were utterly rejected. Nevertheless this was the Rise and Beginning of that strange Variety of Opinions  
and

and Conduct, which has been observed since Henry IV. this amongst the Reformed. The southern <sup>1594.</sup> Provinces of the Kingdom, as the remotest <sup>Pope Clement VIII</sup> from Court, have been always less dazzled with its Grandeur; or else being the strongest both for Number and Quality of the Reformed, or for Number and Strength of Places held by them, were generally inclined to move vigorous Resolutions; whereas the Provinces adjacent to *Paris* had followed the Example of that Metropolis, which has always recommended Submission and Patience by its Example as well as by its Counsels.

The Synod resolved likewise that the Union made at *Mantes* in December 1593, should be sworn by all Churches in the Kingdom; and a Breviate was ordered to be presented to the next Assembly at *St. Foy*; complaining against those of the *Isle of France*; and several others, because in the Name of the Churches they had prosecuted the Verification of the Edict of 1577, whenas it was expressly contrary to the Resolution taken at *Mantes*.

Also Letters were sent in the Synod's Name to Her Royal Highness *Catharine* the King's Sister, to congratulate her upon her Stedfastness in her Religion, beseeching her to persevere.

Several other Resolutions of less moment were taken in that Synod which ended its Sessions on the 28th of *June*.

On the 15th of *July* was held a Political Assembly of the Reformed at *St. Foy* upon *Dordogne*, under the King's Authority and by his special Command. Where, after having taken into their Consideration the sad Condition they were in, thro' the open and daily Breaches that were made in the Edict of 1577, by the Concessions granted to the Leaguers in the

lxxxvii.  
A political  
Assembly  
of the Re-  
formed.



Henry IV. Treaties made with them, they resolved to send again their Deputies to his Majesty, and the Lords of *Chouppes* and *Tixier* were named for that purpose; they were charged most humbly to intreat the King to answer their Petitions, to set before him the ill Usage they received every where by the Parliaments and the Commonalties: And indeed they were intolerable. At *Paris*, where his Majesty usually kept his Court, the Lieutenant Civil put out an Order to oblige every one upon corporal Punishments to bow before Images, Crosses, Banners, Shrines, &c. which they met in their way. At *Lions* those who should refuse to profess the Roman Religion were ordered to quit the City and the Province on pain of Death. At *Rennes* the Parliament forbade upon corporal Punishments to sell, read, or keep any Book treating of the Reformed Religion. At *Bordeaux*, the Parliament ordered to dig up the Bodies of the Reformed that had been buried even fifteen Years before in the Churches or Church-Yards. Besides that the Leaguers took care when they treated with the King to exclude the Reformed from all Offices of Justice, Police, Finance, &c. and even to deprive those who were already invested with them. In consequence thereof, those of the Reformed at *Orleans* who had any civil Employment in the City were deprived. The Parliament of *Rouën* forced the Attorneys and Lawyers to abjure their Religion. That of *Tours*, a little before their Removal to *Paris*, forced likewise the Assessor of *Saumur* to abjure, tho' that City had been granted by his late Majesty to the present King for the Security of his Reformed Troops. All which violent Proceedings are so many Infractions of his Majesty's gracious Concessions and Promises made in the last

last Year at *Mantes*; and while the Leaguers, Henry IV. Enemies to his Majesty, neglect nothing to se-<sup>1594.</sup> cure their Condition, the poor Reformed, al-<sup>Pope Cle-</sup> ways faithful and loyal, remain unsettled; for<sup>ment VIII</sup> gratifying the former, there is no Hour troublesome, even in the Night; to oblige these, not a quarter of an Hour in the whole Day can be spared. Nevertheless, they don't envy ~~the~~ Favours which his Majesty heaps upon their Enemies; but it is very hard, that it should be always at their own Cost and Prejudice. That his Majesty had always promised, that when he should be settled, he would then settle them; but contrary to their Expectation they saw themselves exposed to a greater Ruin through their long Forbearance, and upon that specious Pretence of the King's own Settlement. That now since by the Favour of God he was received in *Paris* and in the best Cities of the Realm, they most humbly besought him not to delay any longer the Accomplishment of his Promises (y).

Indeed nothing was more just than that Petition, and one must be very partial who will not acknowledge that the Reformed having not the Gift of diving into the inmost Recesses of the King's Heart, and all the outward Appearances offering them nothing else but a dreadful Scene of Calamities for the future, they could not be blamed, if they began to think of themselves, and to try all lawful means to shelter themselves against the Storm which seemed to threaten them. Some of the Deputies had Orders from their Principals to insist upon the Election of another Protector, and it is said, that the Duke of *Bouillon* caused it to be proposed under-

(y) *Memoires de Du Plessis*, Tom. II. Supplement aux dits *Memoires*, pag. 262, &c.

Henry IV. hand to name the *Electeur Palatine*, whereof  
 1594. he should be the Lieutenant, but that Scheme  
 Pope Cle- came to nothing. That Assembly renewed  
 ment VIII their Oath of Union, that is, to live and die  
 together for the Defence of the common Cause; they made several Regulations for the Maintenance of good Order amongst themselves, and the Payment of the necessary Expences, then they broke up in the Month of *November*.

Their Deputies at Court went to *St. Germain en Laye* to have an answer to their Petition, but were obliged to wait three Months together before they could receive any. At last they were referred to the Edict of 1577, which had been so much curtail'd by the Treaties made with the Leaguers, and to the Answers given them in the Conferences at *Mantes*, where a Copy of the Articles was shewed unto them; but the principal Articles, concerning the Exercise of their Religion at Court, and in the Armies, the Salary of the Ministers, the Continuance of the Cautionary Towns were purposely blotted out; some others were intirely alter'd either to restrain them, or to obscure the Meaning thereof. Nay, they refused them to draw a Copy of the Original, but they were told that it should be put into the hands of a Gentleman of their Persuasion, Member of the Privy Council, signed by the King and one of the Secretaries of State; so the Deputies were obliged to depart without any further Satisfaction. And a little after the said Edict of 1577 was verified in the Parliament of *Paris*, at the Instances of the King's Council. They pretend, that by such a Concession of an Edict defective in all its Parts, to put a Stop to the just Pursuits of the Reformed. And even in this the monstrous Partiality  
 I of

of the Judges was very plain ; for tho' the Parliament of *Paris* was the wholesomest of all others, nevertheless the Reformed carried it only by six Votes, whereas when the same Edict had been verified at *Tours*, before it had been abridged in any Part, that had been done without any Contradiction. The other Parliaments refused to verify it, and that of *Bordeaux* carried their Insolence so far, AS TO PUT OFF FOR A YEAR TO DELIBERATE WHETHER THEY OUGHT TO DELIBERATE UPON THAT POINT (z).

Henry IV.  
1594.  
Pope Clement VIII

This Year the King was rid, by Death, of a dangerous Competitor, viz. the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who entertained still his ambitious Thoughts, that were revived in him from time to time by Persons who wanted an Opportunity to fish in troubled Water, and caused great Anxieties to the King. The Superintendant D'O died also as he had lived ; His Majesty was very well pleased with it, for tho' he knew perfectly well the scandalous way of that Man's living, and that he wasted his Exchequer to gratify his Luxury, nevertheless he knew not how to remedy that Disorder, and was afraid to disoblige a Man who had so great an Interest at Court, and in the Council. At first he put his Exchequer in commission of five Persons, but a little time after he thought proper to alter his Scheme, and the Lord of *Sancy* was put in the Head of D'O.

lxxxviii.  
*Death of Cardinal of Bourbon and of D'O,*

But on the 27th of *December* the King was preserved in the midst of a much more threatening Danger. His Majesty being just arrived from the Frontiers of *Artois*, he was in the Room of the Duchess of *Beaufort*, where the Court was then assembled ; as he was stooping to embrace

lxxxix.  
*Chastel's Attempt upon the King.*

(z) Idem Ibid. Thuan. lib. cxii. pag. 525.

Henry IV. *Montigny*, a young Lad about nineteen Years, namely JOHN CHASTEL Son to a Draper of <sup>1594.</sup> *Paris*, attempted to stab him with a Knife; but *Pope Clement VIII* happily for the King, his present Position saved him; he received the Stroke in his under Lip, and had one of his Teeth broken. The Villain was seized immediately, he was a Disciple of the *Jesuits*. He own'd that his Design was to murder the King, to make amends for his own manifold Sins; he asserted to the last the lawfulness and meritoriousness of that heinous Act; he declared that he had been brought up in the College of *Clermont* under the Tuition of the *Jesuits*, and that they had led him oftentimes into a Chamber where *Hell* and many dreadful Figures were represented to the Life. He was condemned to the usual Punishment inflicted upon such Traitors.

The *Jesuits* equally odious to the Reformed, and to a great Number of *Catholicks*, being charged by the Depositions of their Disciple, were prosecuted. Being, then, more *Spaniards* than *French*-like affected, they had distinguished themselves by their Zeal for the *League*, they had much contributed towards its Formation, they had been strictly united with the Faction of the SIXTEEN, and to them were ascribed most part of the seditious Writings that had been published against the late and the present King. Some of them were found in the Custody of Father JOHN GUIGNARD in Manuscript, he had been Tutor to *Châtel*; he was arrested and sentenced to be hanged. By the same Decree the whole Society was banished out of the Kingdom. Some other Parliaments followed the Example of *Paris*; but *Tboulouze* and *Bordeaux* refused to do the same, and that Plague of Mankind found

found a Refuge in *Guienne* and *Languedoc*, till Henry IV. they were recalled ten Years after.

Now the King being strengthened by the Accession of so many Cities which had submitted themselves, the Council thought proper to proclaim War against *Spain* for several good Reasons, which was done on the 17th of *January*.

1595.  
Pope Clement VIII

XC.

War proclaimed against Spain.

The Reformed held another Political Assembly at *Saumur* on the 24th of *February*, by the King's own Appointment. The Lords of *Cbouppes* and *Tixier*, the two Deputies at Court, gave account of their Negotiation of the last Year, which afforded matter of great Discontent, which was much increased by the Accession of new Complaints of great Hardships whereunder the Reformed groaned in the Provinces. Therefore they began to dread more than they expected from the Court; tho' they were thoroughly persuaded that the King was of such good Nature that he would never hurt them of his own accord. Therefore, besides the general Petitions for Redress of Grievances drawn up at *Mantes* and *St. Foy*, and so many times presented, besides that lately drawn up at *Saumur* and presented to the King's Council, they resolved to make their Address directly to the King, in hopes that their Uprightness would move his Majesty to pity their sad Condition. For which purpose the Lords of *La Nouë* and *La Primaudaye* were deputed to Court, which was then at *Lyons*, in the Month of *July*, where they stayed long enough, and at last could obtain nothing but the Answers to their former Petitions at *Mantes*, with the Subtractions and Restrictions made since the first time, and a Promise of his Majesty to send Commissaries into the Provinces to put the

XCI.

Assembly at Saumur.

Henry IV. the Edict of 1577 in execution; which Edict  
 1595. by the several Treaties made with the Lea-  
 Pope Cle- guers, as above said, contained almost nothing  
 ment VIII. but what was to the Advantage of the Ca-  
 tholicks.

So all the fruit of these three Deputations was reduced to Answers delivered at *Mantes*; in the first, they had only the reading of them; in the second, they were read again, but very different from the first; in the third, they were put into the hands of *La Nouë*, with this Caution, that he should not show them but to the Assembly, and even that only in three Months time: what a special Favour! The *League* was not treated at that rate, the Edicts granted in their behalf were instantly concluded in the King's Council, verified by the Parliaments, published and received in all the Cities with loud Acclamations of Joy, and executed without delay. An Instance thereof we have in the Treaty of *Aix*, whereby the Exercise of the Reformed Religion was interdicted throughout all the Province, which was immediately verified by the Parliament, and executed with the utmost Rigour.

XCII. In the Month of *June* this Year the Duke  
 Some Oc- of *Mayenne* was routed at *Fontaine Francoise*;  
 currences that Battle, wherein the King performed  
 of this Wonders, gave a decisive Stroke to the  
 Year. League. The Duke despairing ever to recover, was very glad to accept the King's generous Offer, to retire to *Chaalons* and remain there safely till his Treaty should be concluded. The Castles *Dijon* and *Talan* surrendered to the King, by the said Duke's Interposition.

At the end of this Year, the young Prince of *Condé*, first Prince of the Blood, who was kept with his Mother at *St. John of Angely*,  
 was

was delivered into the King's hands. His <sup>Henry IV.</sup> Mother's Tryal having been revised by the <sup>1595.</sup> Parliament of *Paris*, she was acquitted for <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> want of Evidence, as it was pretended; see <sup>ment VIII</sup> what we have said concerning that Affair in the second Part of our third Volume. Then she turned Catholick, and the young Prince too, tho' an Infant of about seven Years of age, against the Intention of the great *Henry* Prince of *Condé* his Father, nay against an Article of the Edict of 1577, whereby it is enacted that the Children of those who die without Testament shall be brought up in the Religion of their Parents. Which Article had been confirmed by the Agreement made at *Mantes*. And it is very observable, that, before that Prince was delivered to the King, the Court, in order to bring the Reformed to that Compliance, affected to say, that they ought to receive Satisfaction upon their just Demands. But they had no sooner got from them, what they desired, but they kept no account of their Petitions, and 'twas talked no more of sending Commissaries into the Provinces (a).

All this while the King's Reconciliation <sup>XCIIF.</sup> with the *Pope* was negotiating at *Rome*. The <sup>The Pope</sup> Pontiff understanding that the King's Power <sup>grants the</sup> was daily rising upon the Ruins of the *League*, <sup>King his</sup> began to relent and to hear more favourably those who took it in hand to procure the said Reconciliation. Cardinal of *Gondy* Bishop of *Paris*, and then *D'Offat*, *Du Perron*, and some others that came purposely to *Rome*, overcame by degrees the Difficulties that were thrown in their way. But nothing contributed more to the Conclusion of that ridiculous and at the same time shameful Mummery, than

(a) Supplement aux Mem. de Du Plessis, p. 265, 266.



Henry IV. than the prosperous Course of the King's Affairs, seeing that certainly he would soon bring his Enemies under, *Clement* began to be afraid lest the King should make himself intirely easy in his Throne before he was reconciled with *Rome*, and that afterwards he would not trouble himself any further about that Reconciliation. He perceived even that the wisest Men of his own Court disapproved his rigid Way of proceeding, and said loudly that he hazarded the losing of *France*, as *Clement VII.* had lost *England* in the time of *Henry VIII.* And these Considerations prevailed upon and obliged him to grant his Absolution.

The King had oftentimes declared that he would never consent to do any thing misbecoming himself, or the Dignity of the Crown. There were two sorts of People in his Council who thought, that the Pope ought to be left alone to make the first Steps himself, being persuaded that by Perseverance they would bring him to grant a bare and simple Ratification of the Absolution the King had received at *St. Denis*. The one were the Reformed, who could not endure that the King's Honour should be prostituted to the Intrigues of the Court of *Rome*. The other were the Catholics not bigotted, who loved the King and the Kingdom, and who not questioning but the *Pope's* Aim was to make the King purchase his Favour by some ignominious Condescension, were desirous the King should avoid that Snare, by letting the *Pope* alone till he sought after him. But the *High-flown Catholics* carry'd it, because the King desired to be rid of his Trouble. He was weary of the toilsome Life wherein he had spent so many Years. He pursued eagerly the Dissolution of his Marriage with *Margaret of Valois,*

*Valois*, and desired to marry the fair Duchess Henry IV. of *Beaufort*. He knew that the last Excuse of the obstinate *Leaguers* was, that he was not absolved by the *Pope*; the Duke of *Mayenne* had sworn never to pay him Allegiance till he was reconciled with the *See of Rome*. Which things he thought impossible to bring to pass without the *Pope's* Assistance. So that the Commission was given to *D'Ossat* and *Du Perron*, this last was as notorious a Knave, without Religion and Honesty, as the first was remarkably honest and upright, who was not a little vexed, when he saw that his Companion granted more to the *Pope* than he had advised. This was the King's Misfortune, that of those two Prætors, that were to represent his Person in this Affair, he, to whom the Secret was intrusted and who was the chief Manager thereof, was not the most honest. However to get what he could from the King, the *Pope* at first made all the Demands which the *Spaniards* suggested to him, tho' he knew very well that they would never be granted. The King had clearly explained his Mind; he had expressly set down, in his Instructions to his Proctors, what he would grant, and what he would refuse; and they were strictly enjoined not to consent to any thing that might be injurious to the royal Majesty, especially to forbear the Word of *Rehabilitation*, which insinuated that he could not be a lawful King without the *Pope's* Approbation; and to insist upon the Validity of the Absolution he had received at *St. Denis*. There was also an Article in the said Instructions in behalf of the Reformed, whose faithful Services to the Crown he commended with Encomiums.

But whatever Caution was taken to preserve the King's Honour, *Du Perron* forbore not to comply

Henry IV. comply with the *Pope's* Demands; his Excuse  
 1595. was, that they could not do otherwise, and  
*Pope Cle-* that they were fain to accept of certain Condi-  
*ment VIII* tions, to avoid others that would be more irk-  
 some. The main question in debate was the  
 Dependence or Independance of the Crown of  
*France*; and nevertheless it was unfolded on-  
 ly by equivocal Expressions, from whence e-  
 qual Advantage might be drawn as well for  
 the one as for the other. This was by no  
 means relished by the honest *Frenchmen*; much  
 less did they relish those Slaps with a Wand  
 which the Proctors received upon their Shoul-  
 ders in the King's Name, in presence of the  
 Cardinals, during the Ceremony of the Ab-  
 solution. *Du Perron* betrayed in this, as well  
 as he had done before on several other Occa-  
 sions, his King's and his Country's Honour;  
 he aspired to a Cardinal's Hat, for which he  
 would have ventured whatever is dearest to an  
 honest Man; (I shall give his Character when I  
 come to the Year 1600.) The *Spaniards*  
 made it the Subject of their Sport and Merri-  
 ment, the *French Catholick Politicians* mur-  
 mured at it, the Reformed stormed at it, as  
 the highest Affront that could be put upon  
 royal Majesty. The Court itself was ashamed  
 of such a pitiful Condescension; and *Du Per-*  
*ron* had much ado to ward off the bloody Re-  
 proaches that were cast upon him, for so great  
 a Prevarication.

And as he had consented to such Indignity;  
 so had he agreed to sixteen Articles which the  
*Pope* imposed upon the King by way of Pe-  
 nance, most of which were of such a nature  
 that His Majesty could not perform them  
 without

without intangling himself in the greatest Difficulties (b). Henry IV. 1595.

While this Affair was under Negotiation at Rome, the Reformed of *Chastaigneray* were massacred by the Garrison of *Rocheport*. The Lady of the Place, who had heretofore signified herself by other Acts of Violence, taking notice that the Reformed, who met together there from sundry Places in the Neighbourhood, carried Arms about them in their own Defence, because the Garrisons of the Enemies were always scouting abroad, forbid the Meeters to come armed upon her Lands; and supported that Inhibition with so many dreadful Threats, that they obeyed. In that Condition it was that the Garrison of *Rocheport* surprized them at the Lord of *Vaudrè's* Castle, where they had met together. About two hundred were massacred, without sparing either Sex or Age, nay they murdered a young Infant that was carried to be christened, and a little Boy who offered them eight-pence for his Ransom. This piece of Inhumanity put the Reformed into a Ferment equal to the Cruelty of the Fact. They held several Assemblies to consider of it. They petitioned the King never to pardon the Authors of such a Massacre. The King gave out Letters Patent, which declared that this Act of Cruelty should not be comprehended under the Name of Military Violences, which Treaties of Peace generally provide for. In pursuance thereof the Duke of *La Trimouille* and *Du Plessis* caused five or six of these Executioners, that fell into their hands, to be executed (c).

1595.  
Pope Clement VIII  
XCIV.  
Cruel  
Massacre  
of the Re-  
formed at  
Chas-  
taigneray.

The

(b) Thuan. lib. cxiii. Lettres du Cardinal D'Ossat liv. ii. lettre 77. à Monsieur de Villeroy.

(c) Vie de Du Plessis Mornay, liv. ii. p. 226.

Henry IV. The King's Reconciliation with the Pope  
1596. was followed by that of the Duke of Mayenne  
Pope Cle- with his Majesty; his Treaty was published  
ment VIII under this Title, *The King's Edict concerning*  
XCV. *the Articles granted to the Duke of Mayenne*  
Mayenne *for the Peace of the Kingdom.* All the Lea-  
submits to guers, the Duke of Aumale and another except-  
the King. ed, were comprehended in this Treaty.

The Marshal of Joyeuse and the City of  
Tboulouze submitted themselves to his Majesty  
in March following.

XCVI. In the Month of April the Reformed held  
Assembly of an Assembly at Loudun, by the King's Au-  
the Re- thority, wherein the Lords of La Nouë and  
formed at La Primaudaye gave an account of their late  
Loudun. Deputation; whereby the Assembly judged  
that after so many Deputations which had  
proved fruitless, it was in vain to expect any  
good from Court. They considered what they  
ought to be done in their sad Circumstances,  
It seemed unto them, that the shortest way was  
to re-enter into the same Condition wherein  
they had been put by the late King's Truce,  
and which the present King had accepted of  
in the Name of all the Reformed Body. Their  
Reasons were that His Majesty as Successor of  
the late King was bound to make good his  
Promises and Engagements which he had ac-  
cepted not only in his own private Name, but  
in the Name of the whole Body of the Re-  
formed. And that the late King being dead  
a few Months after the said Treaty, the pre-  
sent King had solemnly promised, at his Ac-  
cession to the Crown, to perform every Article  
of the said Truce; till Religion should be provi-  
ded for by a General or a National Council  
and by the General States.

That

That consequently they were well-grounded Henry IV. upon the Declarations of his Predecessors and his own, to require the Execution of the said <sup>1597.</sup> Truce, since they had no other Law whereby <sup>Pope Clement VIII</sup> they could stand, but that.

Nevertheless, for Peace sake, and out of Respect for his Majesty, they deputed again Mr. *Vulson*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Grenoble*, with an humble Address to his Majesty containing summarily their Demands. He met the King at *la Fere*, and had his Audience, but was dismissed with the same Answer as before; and his Majesty sent Orders to the said Assembly to depart, and to go into their respective Provinces for acquainting their Principals with his royal Intention. That Order was mistaken for an open Design to break and disunite them, without doing them Justice, and redressing their Grievances. Therefore their Patience began to be tired; they were ready to depart, fully resolved to provide for their own Preservation, by putting in Execution the Articles of the Truce agreed on with *Henry III.* and to do it with as little Confusion, and Inconveniency to the King's Affairs as could be.

The King being informed of that Resolution, was vexed at it, and dreading the Consequences thereof, he wrote to *Du Plessis*, to let him know that his Intention had been misrepresented, that he desired him to dispose the Members of that Assembly to stay at *Loudun*, and that he would send thither some Deputies of his Privy-Council to confer with them, about the Means of giving them Satisfaction: That Letter was dated the 11th of *June*. The Assembly received that gracious Message with Hearts full of Gratitude, they gave thanks to God, that he had moved the King's and the Lords of his Council's

Henry IV. Hearts, for they desired no better than the  
<sup>1596.</sup>  
 Pope Cle- Liberty of serving God in Rest and Quietness,  
 ment VIII and would have been vexed, had they been  
 forced to do otherwise.

The Deputies which the King sent, were the Lords *De Vic*, and *Calignon*, Members of the Council of State, and of his most honourable Privy-Council ; the first was a *Roman* Catholick, the other Reformed, but both were conspicuous for their Integrity and Capacity : But their Power was not full enough for bringing that Affair for which they were sent, to a happy Conclusion. They arrived at *Loudun* on the 20th of *July*. They offered nothing better than the Edict of 1577, so many Times and for so just Causes rejected ; true it is, that they offered some inconsiderable Compensation for the Articles which had been cut off, which was not accepted. So that they could not proceed any further. But the King's Deputies had an Opportunity of convincing themselves, that the State of the Reformed, and their Grievances had been ill-represented at Court, that they had been too slightly considered. They desired the Assembly to depute two of their Body to wait with them upon his Majesty, as Witnesses of their Sincerity, and at the same time for joining with them in soliciting a Redress, which being granted, tho' without any great Hopes of Success, Messieurs *De Rieux*, and *De la Moite*, set out with them for Court. In their way, they found several places in the possession of the Reformed, ready to be ruined for want of Pay, some of them were without Garison ; in some others, the Money destined for their Maintenance had been laid out in other Uses, and the Receivers were expressly forbidden to advance any, besides for the four first Months of the Year ;

Year: The Court was at last obliged to provide for the most urgent Necessities of a few of them that were in the greatest Wants, but that was done with such a Circumspection and Sparingness, that it was plain enough, that they did it by Force, and much against their Wills. For it was publickly known that the Garisons had been taken away out of some Places, purposely that they might fall more easily into the hands of the Leaguers, to whom they had been promised by the several Treaties made with them.

Henry IV.  
1596.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

The Lords *De Vic* and *Calignon* came back to *Loudun* only, the 10th of *October*: which long Delay afforded the Assembly a Pretence of suspecting the Court's Sincerity and Ingenuity; and that they intended to amuse them till the Treaties with *Spain*, and the Duke of *Merceur*, which were then on foot, should be concluded, and then, to deny them Justice. But their Suspicions were still more increased, when they saw that the Deputies' Powers were not sufficiently full for bringing Matters to a Conclusion, and that the main Scope of their Coming was only to persuade them to send some more Deputies to the King, and to remove themselves to some Place nearer the Court: Whereunto the Assembly readily consented, in order to abridge the Difficulties, being promised withal, that the King's principal View in proposing that Removal was only to hear more easily their Reasons, and confer with them in the Forms requisite in such Cases. The Lords of *La Nouë*, and *Chouppes*, the Baron of *Fons*, Messieurs *La Motte*, *Brunier* and *Tixier* were sent by the Assembly, and met the King at *Rouën*, the 4th of *November*, and in Obedience to his Majesty's Command, the said Assembly



Henry IV. was transferred from *Loudun* to *Vendôme* on the 10th of the same Month.

1596.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

Their Deputies found the King pre-possess'd by the Calumnies of their Enemies, who loaded them with the Odium of the bad Success of his Affairs in *Picardy*. But tho' it was easy for them to evince their Innocency, and the Integrity of their Proceedings, and to satisfy fully his Majesty as to that, nevertheless they did not much better succeed in this Negotiation than in the former ones, tho' they receded as far as possible from their just Pretensions; for they insisted purely and only upon Articles which were of a publick Nature, wherein no private Person was any further concerned than as a Member of the Society. Therefore the Deputies took their Leave of his Majesty without having received any Satisfaction; they set out from *Rouën* on the beginning of *January 1597*, the Lords *De Vic* and *Calignon* followed them to *Vendôme*, by the King's Command; they were sent on purpose to exhort the Assembly to rest satisfied with the King's Offers, considering the present Circumstances of Times (*d.*)

XCVII.  
The 14th  
national  
Synod.

On the 5th of *June*, was held at *Saumur* the 14th National Synod of the Reformed Churches; the Rev. Mr. *De la Touche* was chosen Moderator. This Ecclesiastical Assembly meeting at the same time with the Political, and in a Place so near to *Loudun*, gave the Court some Uneasiness. They were afraid lest these two Councils debating almost the same Things, their Resolutions would be more effectual, and that the Ministers would carry along with them to their respective Churches, that Spirit of Discontent, which was prevailing at *Loudun*. But *Du Plessis* assured the Court,

(*d.*) Supplem. aux Mem. de Du Plessis, p. 267, &c.

Court, that Ecclesiastical Matters only, should be treated of in the Synod. Henry IV. 1596.

The said Synod wrote to the King on the general Affairs, and sent Deputies to him. They thanked his Majesty by their Letters, for those fresh Assurances of his Good-Will, brought to them by the Revd. Mr. *De Serres*, which they ascribed partly to his natural Goodness, and partly to the Remembrance he had of the good Affection the Reformed had for his Person, and the great Services they had done him. They complained next, that their Grievances were misrepresented to his Majesty, who was made to believe, that they were used almost as well as their past Services deserved, and according to his good Intentions; whereby he was hindered from thinking more earnestly of their Relief; whereas, on the contrary, they had new Wrongs done them, which they did instance in manifold Particulars. That the Catholics would have them be contented with the Edict of 1577, and the Conferences of *Flex*, and *Nerac*, though it was almost made void by the several Concessions granted to the Leaguers to oblige them to return to their Allegiance. In consequence whereof, they were treated in most Parliaments, according to the bloody Edicts of the League. That the Reformed had Reason to think it strange, that they who had served the King from his Cradle, and whose Services had been attended with the Blessing of God, were in a worse Condition under his Reign, than they had been under his Predecessors, who were so much pre-possess'd against them. At last they excused themselves for troubling his Majesty with their Affairs, at a Time when he had such weighty ones in hand, but they thought that the making such a con-

Henry IV. considerable Part of his Subjects, and of the most faithful too, their Concerns could be none of his least important Business.

1596.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

The Synod answered also the Lord High-Constable's Letter upon the same Heads; but for all that, they could get for the present, nothing else but a renewing of wonted Promises. The Revd. Mr. *D'Orival*, Minister of *Sancerre*, having made a Motion, Whether it was convenient that the Ministers should be sent Deputies to the Political Assemblies; it was resolved in the Affirmative, because the present Juncture of Affairs did require it. I don't understand how such a Resolution could be very pleasing to the Court, as the Revd. Mr. *Benoit* pretends, unless we should suppose that the Court fore-saw that the Ministers would be more dependant, and more easily influenced by the Court than the Lay-men; but sure I am, that it was afterwards very prejudicial to the Interest of the Reformed Churches.

Several Regulations concerning Discipline were made in this Synod; for Instance, they decreed that the Provinces should be admonished to do their utmost for erecting and endowing a College in each of them, and that by them all jointly, two Universities should be erected in the Kingdom; the Lord *Du Plessis* received the Thanks of the Company for his noble Foundation for that purpose at *Saumur*. It was also decreed that the Crimes which would expose the Penitent to a certain Death, or brand him with Infamy, should not be specified in the publick Confession he was obliged to make, before he could be received to the Peace of the Church.

Some Ministers like *Cayet* were deposed as scandalous Persons, others who had been suspended

pendent or deposed by Colloquies, or Provincial Synods, were re-established. I shall now but just mention the Civil Occurrences of this Year.

Henry IV.  
1596.  
Pope Clement VIII

The City of *Marseilles* was delivered from the Danger of falling into the hands of the *Spaniards*, just upon the Point of Execution, by one *Libertat*, and the Duke of *Guise*, helped by the Reformed of the Province. The Gallies of *Spain*, commanded by *Doria*, had already entered the Haven. The whole Province was subdued for the King by the said Duke, supported by the Reformed commanded by *Les Diguieres*: They had to fight against the *Leaguers*, the *Spaniards*, and the Duke of *Espenon*, who endeavoured to strengthen himself in that Province, against the King's Will. The Parliament of *Aix* declared *Genebrard*, Archbishop, of that City, attainted of High-Treason, condemn'd him to a perpetual Banishment, and an injurious Pamphlet he had written against the King, was burnt by the common Executioner.

The Marshal, Duke of *Joyeuse*, with the City of *Tboulouse* made their Agreement with the King. After *Paris*, that City had been the most rebellious, and had published bloody Decrees against the late, and the present King. The Marshal of *Joyeuse*, known during the Life of his eldest Brother, by the Name of Count of *Bouchage*, had been a Capuchin, the Pope had dispensed him from his Vows, at the Request of the *Tbolousans*; but, after he had made his Treaty with the King, he resumed his former Profession.

In the Month of *April*, an Impostor, who pretended to be Son to the late King *Charles IX.*

Henry IV. was arrested in *Poitou*, brought to *Paris*, and hang'd at the Place of the *Greve*.

1596.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

In the same Month, the *Spaniards* seized *Calais*; *De Rone*, a famous Leaguer, and a great Captain, who had been very imprudently neglected, had the Direction of that Enterprize; the Town did not hold out long, the Castle was carried by Storm after a stout Resistance, whatever was found in it was put to the Sword. The Royalists took *La Fere*, in *May*, after some Weeks Siege, the Duke of *Mayenne* signalized himself on this Occasion, for the King's Service.

In the same Month, *De Rone* surprized *Ar-dres*, tho' the Garison was above 1400 Men strong; the Count of *Belin*, Governor thereof, was tried for the Fact, but acquitted.

An Alliance offensive and defensive was concluded between *France*, *England*, and the *Seven United Provinces*, and Queen *Elizabeth* sent the Order of the Garter to the King.

The Provinces of *Auvergne*, *Foretz*, and *Cevennes* submitted to his Majesty in *June*. On the 25th of *July*, *Alexander of Medicis*, Cardinal of *Florence*, the Pope's Legate, made his Publick Entry at *Paris*. He was a Pre-late of great Moderation, and was very far from countenancing the Remainders of the *League*, when they brought their Complaints to him.

In *August* the Marshal of *Biron* routed and took Prisoner the Governor of *Artois*, he treated that Province as the *Spaniards* had treated the *Bolonese*, he put them to Fire and Sword.

By the latter End of this Year, the King after several Commands, obliged the Parliament of *Rouën* to register the Edict of 1577, in behalf of the Reformed. And all that could be granted them,

them, over and above this, was to give them Henry IV. some new Places for their Worship, in lieu <sup>1596.</sup> of those that the several Treaties with the <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> Leaguers had taken from them. Tho' the <sup>ment VIII</sup> Catholics themselves consented to that Kind of Compensation, which indeed was not sufficient for the Reformed, who aimed at more Liberty and Security than what was given them by that Means; nevertheless this Verification was at first very ill-resented at *Rome*. *D'Ossat* display'd all his Skill and Ability when he informed the *Pope* of that Transaction; " He " enlarged upon the great Advantage of Peace, " after a Civil-War of 35 Years standing, " which could not end, but by this Edict; " he added, that Peace was necessary for the " Conversion of Hereticks, wherein the King " did daily make considerable Progress; he enlarged upon the Miseries which War had brought upon the Catholics themselves, and the Spoil of the ecclesiastical Revenues, occasioned thereby; he shewed forth, that this Edict was not the Work of the present King, but his Predecessor's, when he was obeyed by all the Catholics at home and assisted by those abroad; that this was the least favourable of all those ever obtained by the Reformed; that so long as it was observed, their Religion did visibly decline; that this Edict confining Heresy to certain Places, restored every where the Catholic Religion, so that one would hardly believe that the Reformed, AFTER HAVING SO MUCH CONTRIBUTED TO THE PRESERVATION OF THE STATE, and strengthened themselves, during the War, with above 50 strong Places more, and above what they had before the last War, would be ever contented with " it,

Henry IV. <sup>1596.</sup> *Pope Cle-*  
*ment VIII* { “ it, at a Time when they might, perhaps  
 “ extorted more from the King, almost  
 “ whelmed with other Affairs. He laid a  
 “ Stress upon the Examples of all othe  
 “ tholick Princes, especially on the Ki  
 “ *Spain*, who tolerated the *Moors*, and o  
 “ the *Dutch* Liberty of Conscience, an  
 “ free Exercise of their Religion, if they  
 “ return to their Allegiance; he shewed  
 “ that the Oppositions of Parliaments we  
 “ Forms, since they knew well-enough, tha  
 “ must obey at last. He subjoined several  
 “ Considerations to the same purpose, and  
 “ cluded with putting the *Pope* in hopes,  
 “ this Peace would bring all other Thir  
 “ a State most agreeable to his Holiness.”  
*Pope* feigned to be satisfy’d with these  
 sons (e).

The King had summoned the Notables  
 Realm to meet together at *Rouën*, to con  
 of the properest Ways and Means of proc  
 the Welfare of the State; accordingly the  
 at the beginning of *November*; and his M  
 opened the Sessions with this short, but  
 gracious Speech.

“ Had I had a mind to set up for an O  
 “ I would have learn’d some long and fine  
 “ tion, and would have delivered it w  
 “ suitable Gravity. GENTLEMEN, I do  
 “ at two more glorious Titles, *viz.* to be  
 “ DELIVERER and the RESTAU  
 “ of this State. For attaining which, I  
 “ convened you in this place. You kno  
 “ your own expence. as well as I at mine  
 “ when God first called me to this Crov  
 “ found *France* not only almost ruined, b  
 “ most intirely lost for the *Frenchmen*. 7

(e) Lettres du Cardinal D’Ossat. l. 2. lettre 92. anné

“ the Grace of God, the Prayers and good Henry IV.  
 “ Counsels of my Servants, by the Sword of <sup>1596.</sup>  
 “ my brave and generous Nobility, (from whom <sup>Pope Cle-</sup>  
 “ *I don't distinguish the Princes of my Blood*), <sup>ment VIII</sup>  
 “ our most glorious Title being, *upon a Gentle-*  
 “ *man's Honour*, by my Troubles and Labours,  
 “ I have saved it from Loss, let us now save  
 “ it from Ruin. Be Partakers with me, My  
 “ DEAR AND BELOVED SUBJECTS, of this  
 “ second Glory, as you have been of the first.  
 “ I have not called ye together, as my Prede-  
 “ cessors did, to have you approve of my  
 “ Wills, and Resolutions, but to receive your  
 “ Advices, to believe them, to follow them, in  
 “ a word, to put myself under your Tuition.  
 “ Very seldom such a Fancy comes into a King's  
 “ Head, a King with a grey Beard, a King  
 “ victorious. But the strong Affection and  
 “ Love I have for my Subjects, the earnest  
 “ Desire I burn with, of adding those two  
 “ above-mentioned fine and glorious Titles to  
 “ a King's, make every Thing easy and  
 “ honourable for me. My Chancellor will  
 “ explain my Will more fully unto you (f).

*De Vic*, and *Calignon*, the King's Commis- <sup>1597.</sup>  
 sioners arrived at *Vendôme* the 2d of *February* <sup>XCIX.</sup>  
 1597, and tho' they had no other Power but <sup>Continua-</sup>  
 that of representing the King's Intention con- <sup>tion of the</sup>  
 cerning the Demands of the Assembly, ne- <sup>political</sup>  
 vertheless the Assembly thought proper to ac- <sup>Assembly</sup>  
 commodate as much as possible their just Ne- <sup>at Ven-</sup>  
 cessity to his Majesty's Will; and for that End <sup>dôme.</sup>  
 not only to answer the Articles brought by  
 them, but also to recede as much as possible  
 upon each of them, even much farther than the  
 In-

(f) *Recueil des choses memor. arrivées en France sous Henry IV. p. 794. Thuan. lib. cxvij. with some little Difference, but not material.*



Henry IV. Instructions they had received of their Principals could bear; in Hopes that the said Principals would easily forgive them, whatever they should do, considering that they did it only for Peace-sake. Therefore, as to the Places wherein they had at first required the free, publick Exercise of their Religion, they accommodated themselves by Restrictions to whatever was conducive to the publick Peace. As to the Subsistence of the Ministers, they brought it so low, that the Sum was hardly sufficient for the fourth Part thereof: As to the Administration of Justice, instead of a mix'd Chamber in every Parliament, they desired but one in four: As to the Garisons, each Deputy required nothing more, but what he thought in Honour and Conscience was absolutely necessary for the Security of his Principal: And so on, as to the other Articles in proportion. Whereupon the King's Commissioners, seeing that their Powers were not full enough to make any further Concessions, and owning that the Deputies were gone far enough, and required nothing but what was just and reasonable to grant, they resolved to send the Lord of *Calignon* to his Majesty, for a more ample Power; and to require at the same time, that the Lord of *Schomberg*, Count of *Nanteuil*, and *James August Thuanus*, the Historian, President in the Parliament of *Paris*, (who were at *Tours*, on account of the Treaty with the Duke of *Merœur*) to be adjoined with them, to render that Transaction more solemn and authentick. *Calignon*, *De Vic*, *Schomberg*, and *Thuanus* arrived at *Saumur*, whither the Assembly had been transferred, on the 18th of *March*.

The Deputies questioned not in the least, but that such Persons of that Rank, Quality  
and

and Probity, being employ'd in that Negotia-  
tion, it would come speedily to a happy Con-  
clusion : But they were much surpris'd, when  
they found that their Instructions and Powers  
were not fuller than the former, and that they  
were not authoris'd to grant them any thing  
more than the last Year ; giving for Reason,  
the sad Condition the King and the Kingdom  
were then in, *Amiens* having been taken by the  
*Spaniards*. And tho' the Lord *De Vic*, went  
again to Court, to try whether he could ob-  
tain any thing more, tho' his Majesty was will-  
ing, nevertheless his Council oppos'd to their  
utmost his gracious Intentions, and sent back  
*De Vic*, as he was come, charging calumniously  
the Reformed with all the Misfortunes the  
Kingdom groan'd under, and which indeed  
were intirely owing to their own Treachery  
and Wickedness. So then, the Assembly broke  
up, the King's Commissioners returned to Court,  
and most part of the Deputies to their Provin-  
ces, resolv'd to meet again very soon, as they  
did in *June* next at *Chatelleraud* (g).

Henry IV.  
1597.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII


The particular Relation of the Transactions  
of this Assembly with the King's Commissi-  
oners, of their respective Goings and Comings,  
from this Time to the Conclusion of that knotty  
Affair in *April* next Year, are not at all neces-  
sary for the right understanding of our History,  
and in truth they are too tedious in them-  
selves, not to be nauseous to the Reader as well  
as to the Writer. Therefore it will be more  
proper to end this Article, with three or four  
Reflexions sufficient to set forth the Occasion  
of the King's Delays ; of his Reformed Sub-  
jects Suspicions and Jealousies ; of their back-  
wardness in assisting the King, when he under-  
took

C.  
Some fur-  
ther Con-  
siderations  
upon that  
Affair.

Henry IV. took the Siege of *Amiens*; and of the King's  
 1597. granting them at last the famous Edict of  
*Pope Cle-* *Nantz*.  
*ment VIII*

One must be surpris'd to find so much Re-  
 Cl. luctancy in the King, to grant his Reformed  
*Causes of* Subjects the just Satisfaction they required, so  
*the King's* many Difficulties started in their Way, for so  
*Delays.* many Years since his Majesty's Accession to the  
 Crown. They who, for supporting his Right,  
 had so freely shed their Blood, and expos'd  
 themselves to so many Hardships, for above  
 22 Years together. They, without whom, it  
 would have been impossible for him to get into  
 his own Inheritance, at least at the Time when  
 the Providence of God called him to it. They,  
 in a word, to whom he stood indebted for his  
 very Life! It would be needless to observe that  
 GRATITUDE is not always the favourite Virtue  
 of Princes. That is not the Case at present,  
 and we must look elsewhere for the true Grounds  
 and Reasons of this extraordinary Conduct.

The best Account that I can give is, that  
*Henry* could not safely, and much less effica-  
 ciously, grant the Reformed their just Petitions.  
 I say, that he could not do it safely as to him-  
 self, before he had subdued his Enemies, either  
 by Force, or by the manifold Favours which  
 he heap'd upon them. He had been forced to  
 abjure his Religion for defeating the Designs  
 not only of the Leaguers, but even of the Ca-  
 tholicks that had at first adhered unto him, and  
 whose Views, tho' different from the Leaguers,  
 agreed nevertheless in this Point to exclude him  
 from the Crown, if he did persist any longer  
 in his Religion. Tho' he complied at last out-  
 wardly, they had still much more reason to  
 question the Sincerity of such a Prince, whom  
 they knew to be almost as learned in both Re-  
 ligions

ligions as any of the Prelates and Divines with Henry IV. whom he had to confer at *St. Denis*; and who, <sup>1597.</sup> *Pope Cle-* they were very certain, had complied only by *ment VIII* Force, and for extricating himself out of his  Troubles. His Enemies missed no Opportunity of rendering his pretended Conversion dubious and suspectful at the Court of *Rome*. Some hot-headed Reformed helped much, by their Imprudence, to keep up these Jealousies, bragging publickly that the Catholicks possessed only the Body of the King, but that they, the Reformed, had his Heart and his very Soul, which he would shew forth, as soon as he was firmly settled upon his Throne. These things, and such like other Stuff being spread abroad in the Kingdom, and at *Rome*, produced these three bad Effects; first, that it rendered the *Pope* more difficult to be reconciled with the King, which Reconciliation could not be purchased but upon very hard Terms and shameful Conditions. Secondly, the Catholick Zealots took from thence a Pretence to plot against the King's Person and Government, he had already escaped twice from the Hands of two Murderers, which had been procured to murder him; and, this very Year about the 17th of *March*, was providentially discovered another Plot against the King and the Government. For as the Lord *Du Plessis* went to pay a Visit to the Dutchess of *Elbæuf*, who lodged near the Post-Office at *Saumur*, he met there a Courier just arrived, who waited for fresh Horses; he knew him, and asked him from whence he came, and whither he went, he told him, that he came from the Lord-Chancellor, and went to the Lord of *La Rochepot*, at *Angers*. Whereupon *Du Plessis* came up to the Dutchess's Chamber, but recollecting himself, and considering that there

Henry IV. there was little or no Correspondence between  
 1597. the Chancellor and *Rocheport*, he began to suspect  
 Pope Cle- something, and came down to examine the Man  
 ment VIII. more strictly; he grew pale, and having been  
 searched, Letters and Memoirs of the Cardinal of  
*Austria*, directed to the Duke of *Merçœur*, and  
 to *Dom' Mendoza*, Agent of *Spain* in *Britanny*,  
 were found upon him; whereupon the Courier  
 was arrested, sent to *Paris*, tried by the Parlia-  
 ment, condemned and executed with his Uncle,  
*Carpentier* an Attorney, who was Head of a  
 secret Council which the King of *Spain* had at  
*Paris* for distributing his Bribes. By these Pa-  
 pers, it appeared that the said King did keep  
 Intelligences in several Provinces and Cities,  
 such as *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Rouën*, *Rheims*, &c.  
 and with several great Lords; that the Duke  
 of *Merçœur* was obstinately bent to the Ruin  
 of the State, pretending to re-unite in his own  
 Person the chimerical Pretensions of the Princes  
 of the League, who had submitted to the King;  
 and the Kingdom was to be rended in several  
 Parts, to gratify the Ambition of as many great  
 Lords, whose Names the Parliament thought  
 proper to suppress, as well as several other Ar-  
 ticles of the Plot itself, for not provoking the  
 great Men who had a hand therein. The  
 Duke of *Merçœur* held still obstinately in *Brit-  
 tanny*, being supported by *Spain*; *Picardy* was  
 opened to the *Spaniards*, they had taken several  
 Towns in that Province, and of late the City  
 of *Amiens*, which having been left by its Treaty  
 with the King, to the Guardianship of its In-  
 habitants, had been surprized by *Ferdinand  
 Tello de Portocarrero*, which Accident put the  
 whole Court into the utmost Confusion. Third-  
 ly, these States Reasons obliged the King to be  
 extremely cautious, and not to grant any thing

to the Reformed, whereby he should give Offence to the Leaguers newly reconciled, lest they should stir up new Wars. Nay, it was *Du Plessis's* Opinion after the King's Change, as he told him in his Letter; that he had put it out of his power to grant, of his own accord, any Favour to the Reformed, and that his Interest required that, for the future, he should be importuned, to the end that those, with whom he sought to be reconciled, might be fully convinced that his former Affections were thoroughly altered, &c. (b). That was indeed a Secret, known only to four or five of his most trusty Counsellors, such as *Du Plessis*, *Schomberg*, *De Calignon*, &c.

Henry IV.  
1597.  
Pope Clement VIII

Not only, *Henry* could not safely relieve his Reformed Subjects during the first eight Years of his Reign, but it was not in his power to do it efficaciously. Their Enemies in his Privy-Council opposed to their utmost his good Intentions, and if he prevailed at any time, he was sure to be thwarted, either in the great Council, or in the Parliaments; his Authority was then so fickle and unsettled in those Times of Trouble and Confusion, that generally speaking, his Orders were neglected, and those who had any Relation to the Reformed for their Relief, were quite unregarded. To what purpose then should he have granted the Reformed such an Edict as they required?

But I am not at all surpris'd, to find not only some Writers of those Days, but even the whole Body of the Reformed complain bitterly of the King's Disregard to them, which they considered as a Piece of Injustice and Ingratitude; they were not able to dive into the inmost Recesses of his Heart, and the cruel Hardships

CII.  
Occasions  
of the Fea-  
lousies of  
the Re-  
formed.

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O

where-

(b) *Memoires de Du Plessis*, Tom. II.

Henry IV. where-under they groaned every where, aff-  
 ed them but too just Reasons to complain.  
 1597. Pope Cle-  
 ment VIII their Request *Du Plessis* had published a  
 this Year without the Author's Name, u  
 this Title ; *Complaints of the Reformed Chur*  
*in France, about the Violences they suffer in*  
*Places of the Kingdom, for which they have*  
*several Times applied themselves, with all Fi*  
*lity, to his Majesty and the Lords of his Co*  
 It contained in Substance the same Compl  
 that were set forth in a Petition presented t  
 King at the Siege of *La Fere*, with an Add  
 of some new Matters of Fact, besides an  
 teration in the Form. It is not to be im  
 ed what the Reformed suffered from Catho  
 in Places wherein they were the weakest ;  
 burning excepted, their Condition differe  
 from what it had been under the worst o  
 four preceding Reigns. No wonder then, if  
 murmured loudly ; it is rather to be won  
 if they did not exceed the just Bounds a  
 ungrateful Wretches whom they had bu  
 now delivered out of the Bondage of the Le  
 at the peril of their Lives. And indeed  
 long Forbearance was chiefly owing to th  
 treaties of *Du Plessis*, and of a few others,  
 moderate Men, who were thoroughly acqu  
 with the King's good Intentions. But that  
 could not persuade the Assembly to sen  
 Succours to the King, for the re-taki  
*Amiens* ; their Reasons were plausible enc  
 their Forces were hardly sufficient to cope  
 the Duke of *Mercaur*, who made frequen  
 cursions in all the Provinces bordering  
*Britanny*. Nevertheless the Lord of *Scho*  
 having met the Assembly at *Châtelberauld*  
 vailed so far upon them by the Strength  
 Arguments, that he persuaded the Dukes  
*Tremouille*, and *Bouillon*, the first to raise

Regiments of Foot in *Poitou*; and the second Henry IV. to do the same in the *Limosine*, for the King's <sup>1597.</sup> *Pope* *Cle-* Service. Which however could not join his *ment* VIII Army, because the first were employed to watch the Motions of *Villebois* who had rebelled of late, and of three or four other Rebels who ransacked the Country. And, whereas the Countries of *Auvergne* and *Givaudan* were in great Confusion by the Siege of *Mandes*, the Duke of *Bouillon* was obliged to stay so long in these Countries, that he could not join the King's Army soon enough for being present at the Siege of *Amiens*, as he had promised (*j*). This I willingly observe against the Duke of *Sully*, who has not been ashamed to gratify his Jealousies at the Expence of Truth itself; calumniating Virtue itself, I mean the Lord *Du Plessis*, whom he charges in his Memoirs with the Dukes of *Bouillon*, and *La Trimouille*, as if they had been of the Number of some few hot-headed of the Assembly at *Chatelherauld*, who were for coming to Extremes (*i*). *Thuanus*, and *Du Plessis Mornay*, are indeed better to be credited than *Sully*, whereof I shall give the Character in its proper Place.

After the Retreat of Arch-Duke *Albert*, who <sup>CIII.</sup> was come at the Head of an Army of twenty <sup>Occasions</sup> five thousand Men strong, to force the King <sup>of the</sup> to raise the Siege of *Amiens*, that City surren- <sup>King's</sup> dered in the End of *September*; which Sur- <sup>granting</sup> render was attended with very good Consequen- <sup>at last the</sup> ces for the King and the Kingdom. For the <sup>Edict of</sup> Treaty of Peace with *Spain*, which had been <sup>Nantz,</sup> on foot for some Months before the taking of *Amiens*,

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(*j*) *Thuan. lib. cxviii. p. 749, 750.*

(*i*) *Mem. de Sully, Tom. I. pag. 189.* And it is certain that whole Regiments of Reformed, as that of *Navarre*, and several Lords Volontiers, were in the King's Army before *Amiens*.



Henry IV. *Amiens*, and had been carried on with Success  
 1597. at the Pope's Interposition by Bonaventure of  
 Pope Cle- Calatagirone, General of the Franciscan Fryars,  
 ment VIII

was renewed, and happily concluded at *Vervins*.  
 The Duke of *Mercœur* was very glad to accept  
 of a Suspension of Arms for three Months.

1598. At last the King took the Field in the Month  
 of *February*, and marching at the Head of  
 12,000 Foot and 2,000 Horse for the Re-  
 duction of the said Duke, several Places upon  
 the Frontiers of *Britanny*, as *Craon* and *Roche-  
 fort* in *Anjou*, *Montjan* in *Mayne*, *Mirebeau* in  
*Touraine*, *Tifauges* in *Poitou*, &c. surrendered  
 themselves, and brought their Keys to his Ma-  
 jesty while upon the Road ; so that the Duke  
 of *Mercœur* stupify'd at this extraordinary Pro-  
 gress, sent the Duchess his Lady to the King  
 at *Angers*, to treat with his Majesty. Tho'  
 the Duke had been exceedingly obstinate for  
 many Years, nevertheless, in Consideration of  
 the Marriage of his only Daughter with *Cæsar*  
 Duke of *Vendôme*, natural Son to the King, his  
 Majesty granted him Terms almost as honoura-  
 ble and advantageous as he could have obtained  
 for himself, when in the height of his Prosperity.  
 While that knotty Affair was transacting, the  
 King's Council sat in earnest upon that of the  
 Reformed, which had been the second Reason  
 why the King had undertook this Journey at  
 the Instances of *De Vic*, *Thuanus*, *Calignan*, and  
*Schomberg*. This last, tho' a *Lutheran*, had  
 told more than once to his Majesty, that his  
 poor Reformed Subjects were sick, not with the  
 Fumes of Rebellion, but with just Fears and  
 Jealousies, and that it was but just to cure them,  
 by granting their just Demands. The Dukes  
 of *Bouillon* and *La Trimouille* were very kindly  
 received by the King at *Angers*. And almost  
 all

all the Difficulties having been adjusted in that Henry City, the Articles and Forms of Grants were <sup>1598</sup> finally agreed upon, and the Whole was carried <sup>Pope's</sup> to *Nantz*, where the King having altered what <sup>ment</sup> he pleased, to show that he granted it freely and with a full Authority, it was at last signed and sealed up in that City, on the 30th of *April* 1598, and delivered into the Deputies Hands, who transmitted it to *Rochelle*, where the general Records of the Reformed Churches were kept. That Edict was as follows :

### EDICT of *NANTZ*.

**H**ENRY, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all those present, and others to come, GREETING. Among those inestimable Blessings, it has pleased Almighty God to impart unto us, the greatest and most remarkable is, to have given us the Constancy, Virtue, and Strength, not to sink under the horrible Troubles, Confusions, and Disorders, which were on foot at our coming to the Crown of this Kingdom, which was divided into so many Parties and Factions, that that which was the most lawful, was almost the least ; and yet, nevertheless, to have borne up so stiffly against that Storm, as in the End to have overcome it, and to be now entered into the Haven of Safety and Repose of this State. The absolute Glory whereof be ascribed to him alone, and to us the Favour and Obligation, in that he was pleas'd to make use of our Labour for the Performance of so good a Work, in which it has been visible to the whole World, That we have, over and above the Discharge of our Duty and Power, done something further, which perhaps at another

O 3

time

be determin'd otherwise than by Force  
to defer and suspend for a Time such as  
and could be treated by Reason and Justice  
Such as the general Differences among  
good Subjects, and the particular Grievances  
of the soundest Part of the State, which  
our Opinion will be more easily cur'd  
having remov'd the principal Cause thereof  
which was the Continuation of the Civil War  
Which having, by the Grace of God, fully  
ended, and Arms, and Hostilities  
quite laid aside throughout our Kingdom  
hope for as favourable Success in the  
Affairs that still remain uncompos'd, and  
thereby we shall obtain the Establishment of  
good Peace, and quiet Repose, which  
ever been the Aim of all our Wishes and  
intentions, and the only Prize we look for  
so many Toils and Hardships wherein we  
pass'd the Course of our Life. Amongst  
Affairs we were oblig'd to delay, one  
chief has been the Complaints we have  
receiv'd from several of our Catholick Provinces  
and Cities, in that the Exercise of the

made to us by our Subjects of the Pretended Henry IV. Reformed Religion, both upon the Unperform-<sup>1598.</sup>ance of what is granted them by the said Edicts, <sup>Pope Cle-</sup>and their Desire of having some Additions made <sup>ment VIII</sup> thereunto for the Exercise of their said Religion, the Liberty of their Consciences, and the Surety of their Persons and Fortunes; pretending just Causes of new and greater Apprehensions, by reason of the last Troubles and Commotions; the chief Pretence and Foundation of which was their Ruin. All which, not to over-charge Ourselves with too much Business at one Instant; as also because the Terror of Arms does not suit with establishing of Laws, tho' never so good, we have still deferr'd from time to time to make Provision for, and take care of. But now, since it has pleas'd God to give a Beginning to our injoying of some Repose and Tranquillity, We esteem that we cannot imploy it better, than in applying Ourselves to what may concern the Glory of his Holy Name and Service, and in procuring his being ador'd and pray'd unto by all our Subjects: And that since it is not his Pleasure as yet, to grant that it may be done in one and the same Form of Religion, it may be done at least with one and the same Intention, and with such Rules, that it may occasion no Troubles or Tumults among them: And that both we, and all this Kingdom, may always deserve the glorious Title of Most Christian, which hath been so long, and so deservedly acquir'd: And by the same means to remove the Cause of the Grievances and Troubles which might arise hereafter upon the Point of Religion, which has always been the most prevailing and most dangerous of all others. Therefore, observing that this Affair is of very great Im-

Henry IV. portance, and worthy of weighty Consideration, after a resolving of all the Petitions and Complaints of our Catholick Subjects; and having also permitted our said Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion to assemble by Deputies to draw up theirs, and to put all their Remonstrances together; and having conferr'd several Times with them upon this Subject, and review'd the precedent Edicts; we have thought fit at this time, upon the Whole, to give our said Subjects an universal, clear, intelligible, and absolute Law, by which they shall be limited and govern'd in all Differences that have heretofore happen'd among them upon that Subject, or that may hereafter happen, whereby both Parties may remain satisfy'd, according as the Nature of the Time can allow it. We being entred into this Deliberation, for no other End, but the Zeal we have for the Service of God, in order that henceforward it may be perform'd by all our said Subjects; and to establish a firm and perpetual Peace among them: Wherein we implore, and expect from his Divine Goodness the same Protection and Favour, which he has ever visibly conferr'd upon this Kingdom, from the first Erection thereof, and during the many Ages it hath continued; and that he would bestow the Grace upon our said Subjects, truly to apprehend that in the Observation of this our Ordinance (next to their Duty towards God, and towards all Men,) consists the main Foundation of their Union, Concord, Tranquillity, and Quiet, and the Restoration of this State to its pristine Splendor, Wealth and Power. As we on our part do promise to have it exactly perform'd without permitting it to be any ways transgress'd.

For

For these Reasons having by the Advice of the Henry I V.  
Princes of our Blood, other Princes and Officers <sup>1598-</sup>  
of our Crown, and other great and notable Per- <sup>Pope Cle-</sup>  
sons of our Council of State about us, maturely <sup>ment VIII</sup>  
and diligently weigh'd and consider'd the whole  
Business ; We have by this Edict perpetual and  
irrevocable, denounc'd, declar'd, and ordain'd,  
and do denounce, declare, and ordain,

I. That the Remembrance of all things pass'd  
on both sides, from the beginning of *March*  
1585, until our coming to the Crown, and du-  
ring the other precedent Troubles, or upon the  
account thereof, shall remain extinguish'd and  
raz'd out, as matters that never had happen'd.  
And it shall not be lawful for our Attorneys-  
General, or other Persons whatever, publick or  
private, at any time, or upon any occasion so-  
ever, to make mention of, or to commence any  
Process or Suit thereupon in any Courts or Ju-  
risdictions whatsoever.

II. We forbid all our Subjects, of what Estate  
or Quality soever they be, to renew the Re-  
membrance thereof ; to assail, urge, or pro-  
voke one another by way of Reproach of what  
is past, upon any Cause or Pretence whatever ;  
to dispute, contest, quarrel, or outrage, or  
offend each other about it by Word or Deed ;  
but to contain themselves, and live peaceably  
together as Brethren, Friends, and Fellow-Ci-  
tizens ; on pain for the Delinquents of being  
punish'd as Infractors of the Peace, and Disturb-  
ers of the publick Quiet.

III. We ordain, That the Catholick Apo-  
stolick Roman Religion shall be re-establish'd and  
restor'd in all Places and Parts of this our King-  
dom and Countries under our Obedience, where  
the Exercise thereof hath been interrupted,  
there to be peaceably and freely put in practice  
without

Henry IV. without any hindrance or disturbance. For  
 1598. bidding most expressly all Persons of what  
 Pope Cle- Estate, Quality, or Condition soever, on the  
 ment VIII Penalties above-mentioned, to trouble, molest  
 or disturb, the Ecclesiasticks in the Celebration  
 of divine Service, the enjoying and taking of  
 Tythes, the Fruits and Revenues of their Be-  
 nefices, with all other Rights and Immunities  
 appertaining unto them; and that all those  
 who during the Troubles, have seized the  
 Churches, Houses, Goods, and Revenues be-  
 longing to the said Ecclesiasticks, detain and  
 possess them, shall surrender unto them the en-  
 tire Possession, and peaceable Injoyment thereof  
 with such Titles, Liberties, and Security as  
 they enjoyed before their being dispossest'd of  
 the same. Also expressly forbidding those of  
 the said pretended Reformed Religion, to  
 preach or perform any other Exercise of the  
 said Religion in the Churches, Houses, and  
 Habitations of the said Ecclesiasticks.

IV. It shall remain at the Choice of the said  
 Ecclesiasticks to buy the Houses and Build-  
 ings erected in prophane Places, whereof they  
 were dispossest'd during the Troubles, or else  
 to constrain the Possessors of the said Build-  
 ings to buy the Ground, the whole according  
 to the Estimation that shall be made thereof  
 by the Viewers, agreed upon by the Parties; and  
 in case they should not agree, the Judges of  
 the Place shall appoint some, reserving ever to  
 the said Possessors their Recourse against whom-  
 soever it shall belong. And where the said  
 Ecclesiasticks shall constrain the Possessors to  
 purchase the Ground, the Money it shall be  
 valued at, shall not be put into their hands,  
 but shall remain in the hands of the said Pos-  
 sessors, to be improved at the rate of 5 per  
 Cent.

Cent. until it be imployed for the benefit of Henry IV. the Church, which shall be done within the Space of a Year. And the said Term being pass'd, in case the Purchaser will no longer continue the said Rent, he shall be discharged thereof, consigning the said Money into the Hands of some solvable Persons, by Authority and Order of Justice. And as for sacred Places, Information thereof shall be given by the Commissaries, who shall be ordain'd for the Execution of the present Edict, in order to our taking a Course for the same.

1598.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

V. Nevertheless, no Grounds and Places imploy'd for the Reparations and Fortifications of Cities, and other Places within our Kingdom, or the Materials therein used, shall be claim'd, or recover'd by the said Ecclesiasticks, or other Persons, publick or private, until the said Reparations and Fortifications are demolished by our Ordinances.

VI. And to remove all Occasions of Contention and Trouble from among our Subjects, we have and do permit those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion to live and reside in all the Cities and Places, within this our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience, without being examin'd, molested, troubled, or constrain'd to do any thing in matter of Religion against their Conscience; or examin'd in their Houses, or Places where they shall inhabit; in all other things behaving themselves according to what is specified in our present Edict.

VII. We have also permitted all Lords, Gentlemen, and other Persons, as well Inhabitants as others, who make Profession of the Pretended Reformed Religion, enjoying within our Kingdoms and Countries under our Obedience,



Henry IV. dience, High Jurisdiction, or \* full *Fief d'Haubert*, (as in *Normandy*) either in Proper, in the Use-Fruit thereof, in the whole, or moiety, or for a third part, to have in such their Houses of the said High Jurisdiction, or Fiefs abovesaid, which they shall be obliged to nominate before, to our Bailiffs and Seneschals, every one within his Limits, for their principal Abode, the Exercise of the said Religion, while they reside there; and in their absence their Wives or Families, or part thereof. And tho' the Right of Jurisdiction, or full *Fief d'Haubert* be in controversy; nevertheless the Exercise of the said Religion shall be allow'd there, provided the abovesaid be in actual Possession of the said High Jurisdiction, altho' our Attorney-General be a Party. We also allow them to perform the said Exercise in their other Houses of High Jurisdiction, or abovesaid *Fief d'Haubert*, while they are there present, and no otherwise; both for themselves, their Families, Subjects, and others, who shall desire to repair thither.

VIII. In Houses of Fiefs, where those of the said Religion shall not have the said High Jurisdiction or *Fief d'Haubert*, they shall only be allow'd the said Exercise for their Families. Nevertheless, we do not mean, that in case other Persons should chance to come in, to the number of Thirty, besides their Family, either upon the account of Baptism, Visitation of their Friends, or otherwise, they should be troubled for the same: Provided also the said Houses are neither within Cities, Towns, or Villages, belonging to Catholick Lords, High-Justicers besides our self, wherein the said Catholick Lords have their Mansions. In which case those

\* An Inheritance held directly in Capite of the King.

those of the said Religion shall not be allowed to perform their said Exercise in the said Cities, Towns, or Villages, except by permission and leave of the said Lords High-Justicers, and no otherwise. Henry IV.  
1598.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

IX. We also permit those of the said Religion, to perform and continue the Exercise thereof in all the Cities and Places under our Obedience, where it was establish'd, and by them publickly perform'd at sundry and divers times in the Year 1596, and in the Years 1597, until the end of *August*, all Decrees and Judgments to the contrary notwithstanding.

X. The said Exercise in like manner shall be establish'd and restor'd in all Places and Cities where it has, or should have been established by the Edict of Pacification, made in the Year Seventy-seven, particular Articles and Conferences of *Nerac* and *Flex*; neither shall the said Establishment be obstructed in the Parts and Places within the Demesne granted by the said Edict, Articles and Conferences, for Places of Bailiwicks, or that shall be granted hereafter, though they have been since alienated to Catholick Persons, or hereafter shall be. And yet we do not intend that the said Exercise shall be re-establish'd in the Parts and Places of the said Demesne, which have been heretofore possess'd by those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, in which it had been allowed out of respect to their Persons, or upon the Account of the Privileges of the Fiefs, in case the said Fiefs be at present possess'd by Persons of the said Catholick, Apostolick Religion.

XI. Moreover, in every one of the ancient Bailiwicks, Seneschalships and Governments, holding the Place of a Bailiwick, having direct  
• Refe-

Henry IV. Reference, without Mediation to the Courts of  
 1598. Parliament, we ordain, that in the Suburbs of  
 Pope Cle- a City, besides those that have been granted  
 mnet VIII them by the said Edict, particular Articles and  
 Conferences: And where there are no Cities,  
 in a Borough or Village, the Exercise of the  
 said Pretended Reformed Religion shall be pub-  
 licly performed for all such as will repair  
 thither; altho' the said Exercise were already  
 establish'd in divers places of the said Bailiwicks,  
 Seneschalships, and Governments; excepting  
 out of the said place of Bailiwick, newly granted  
 by the present Edict, the Cities in which there  
 are Archbishops or Bishops; in which case  
 those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion  
 shall be allow'd to demand, and to nominate  
 for the said Place of the said Exercise, the  
 Boroughs and Villages near the said Cities.  
 Excepted also Places and Lordships belonging  
 to Ecclesiasticks, in which we do not allow the  
 said second Place of Bailiwick to be establish'd,  
 we having by special Grace and Favour except-  
 ed them. Under the Name of ancient Baili-  
 wicks, we mean such as were in the Times of  
 the late King *Henry* our most honour'd Lord  
 and Father-in-Law, held for Bailiwicks, Se-  
 neschalships and Governments, having imme-  
 diate reference to our said Courts.

XII. We do not mean by this present Edict  
 to derogate from the Edicts and Agreements  
 heretofore made for the reducing of some  
 Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and Catholick  
 Cities under our Obedience, in what relates to  
 the Exercise of the said Religion; the which  
 Edicts and Agreements shall be maintain'd and  
 observ'd for this respect, according as shall be  
 specified by the Instructions of the Commis-  
 sioners

tioners that shall be appointed for the Execution of this present Edict. Henry IV. 1598.

XIII. We expressly forbid all those of the said Religion, to perform any Exercise thereof, either as to the Ministry, Government, Discipline, or publick Instruction of Children, and others, in this our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience, in what relates to Religion, in any Places, but those that are allowed and granted by the Edict. Pope Clement VIII

XIV. As also to perform any Exercise of the said Religion in our Court or Attendance, nor likewise in our Lands and Territories beyond the Mounts, nor yet in our City of *Paris*, nor within five Leagues of the said City. Nevertheless, those of the said Religion who live in the said Lands and Territories beyond the Mounts, and in our said City, and within five Leagues round about it, shall not be examined in their Houses, nor constrained to do any thing in respect of their Religion against their Conscience, behaving themselves, in other Matters, according as it is specified in our present Edict.

XV. Neither shall the publick Exercise of the said Religion be performed in the Armies, unless in the Quarters of the Chief Officers who profess the same; nevertheless it shall not be done in the Quarter where we lodge.

XVI. According to the second Article of the Conference at *Nerac*, we give leave to those of the said Religion to build Places for the Exercise thereof, in the Cities and Places where it is allowed them; and those they have built heretofore, shall be restor'd to them, or the Ground thereof, in the Condition it is at present, even in those Places where the said Exercise is not allow'd them, unless they have been converted into other Buildings. In which case the Possessors

ers, and others who speak in public  
any Words, Speeches, or Discourse,  
tend to excite the People to Sedition  
the contrary we have injoin'd, and  
them, to contain and behave themse  
destly, and to utter nothing but w  
tend to the Instruction and Edificati  
Auditors; and to maintain the P  
Tranquillity by us establish'd in our  
dom, on the Penalties specify'd in  
cedent Edicts. Injoining most exp  
Attorneys-General, and their Substitut  
form out of their Office against such  
transgress the same, on pain of answ  
it in their proper and peculiar Pers  
Forfeitures of their Offices.

XVIII. We also forbid all our Sut  
what Quality and Condition soever,  
away by Force or Induction, against  
of their Parents, the Children of tho  
said Religion, to baptize, or confirm  
the Catholick, Apostolick *Roman*  
The same Prohibitions are made to  
the said Pretended Reformed Relig

of the said Religion, neither shall they be any ways troubled or molested for the same. Henry IV. 1598.

XX. They shall also be bound to observe all Festivals ordain'd in the Catholick, Apostolick and *Roman* Church; neither shall they work, or sell in open Shops, on the said Days; neither shall Handicrafts-Men work out of their Shops, or in close Houses, or Chambers, on the said Festival Days, and other prohibited Days, in any Profession, the Noise whereof may be heard without by Neighbours, or Persons passing along: Which nevertheless shall only be sought after by Officers of Justice. *Pope Clement VIII*

XXI. The Books touching the said Pretended Reformed Religion, shall neither be printed nor sold publickly unless in such Cities and Places in which the Publick Exercise of the said Religion is allow'd. And as for other Books which shall be printed in other Places, they shall be seen and examin'd both by our Officers and Divines, as it is specify'd by our Ordinances. We forbid most expressly the Impression, Publication, and Sale of all defamatory Books, Libels and Pamphlets, under the Penalties contain'd in our Ordinances; in-joining all our Judges and Officers to keep a strict Hand over it.

XXII. We ordain that no Difference or Distinction shall be made on the account of the said Religion, for the receiving of Scholars to be instructed in Universities, Colleges and Schools, and the Sick and Poor in Hospitals and Publick Alms.

XXIII. Those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion shall be oblig'd to keep the Laws of the Catholick, Apostolick and *Roman* Church, receiv'd in this our Kingdom, in re-

Henry IV spect to Marriages contracted, or to be contracted as to the Degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity.

1598.  
Pope Clement VIII



XXIV. Those of the said Religion shall also pay the Fees of Entrance, as is customary, for the Places and Offices they shall be provided with, without being oblig'd to assist at any Ceremonies contrary to their said Religion: And being call'd to their Oath, they shall only be oblig'd to hold up their Hand, swear, and promise to God, that they will speak the Truth: Neither shall they be oblig'd to take a Dispensation for the Oath by them taken, at the passing of the Contracts and Obligations.

XXV. It is our Will and Pleasure, that all those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, of what State, Quality, or Condition soever, shall be obliged and constrained by fair and reasonable Means, and under the Penalties contain'd in the Edicts upon that Subject; to pay and acquit the Tythes of Curates, and other Ecclesiasticks, and to all other to whom they shall belong, according to the Use and Custom of the Places.

XXVI. The Disinheritances or Privations, either by disposing among the Living, or by way of Testament, made only out of Hatred, or upon the account of Religion, shall neither be valuable for the Time past, or Time to come, among our Subjects.

XXVII. In order the better to re-unite the Wills of our Subjects, according to our Intention, and to remove all Complaints for the future, We do declare all those who do, or shall profess the said Pretended Reformed Religion, capable of holding or performing all Estates,

Estates, Dignities, Offices, and Publick Places Henry IV.  
 whatever, either Royal, Signorial, or of the 1596.  
 Cities of our Kingdom, Countries, Territories Pope Cle-  
 and Lordships, under our Obedience, all Oaths ment VIII  
 to the contrary notwithstanding, and to be  
 indifferently received into the same: And our  
 Courts of Parliament and other Judges shall  
 only make Inquiry, and inform themselves  
 about the Life and Conversation, Religion and  
 honest Conversation of those who are, or shall  
 be provided with Offices, as well of the one,  
 as of the other Religion, without exacting any  
 other Oath from them, but well and faith-  
 fully to serve the King, in the Discharge of  
 their Offices, and to observe the Ordinances,  
 as it has been observ'd at all times. And in  
 case any Vacancy shall happen of the said  
 Estates, Places and Offices, as for those that  
 shall be in our Gift, they shall be dispos'd of  
 indifferently, and without Distinction, to ca-  
 pable Persons, as Things that concern the Uni-  
 on of our Subjects. We intend also that those  
 of the said Pretended Reformed Religion shall  
 be admitted and receiv'd into all Councils,  
 Deliberations, Assemblies and Functions de-  
 pending on the abovesaid Matters; and that  
 they shall not be ejected or hinder'd from en-  
 joying them upon the account of the said Re-  
 ligion.

XXVIII. We order for burying of the Dead  
 of those of the said Religion, within all the  
 Cities and Parts of our Kingdom, that in each  
 Place, a convenient Place shall be provided for  
 them forthwith by our Officers and Ma-  
 gistrates, and by the Commissioners who shall  
 be by Us deputed for the putting of this pre-  
 sent Edict in execution. And such Church-  
 Yards as they had heretofore, which they



Henry IV. have been depriv'd of by reason of the Trou-  
 1598. bles, shall be restor'd to them, except they be  
 Pope Cle. at present built upon; in which Case, others  
 ment VII shall be provided for them Gratis.

XXIX. We most expressly enjoin our Officers to take care that no Scandal be committed at the said Burials, and they shall be bound within a Fortnight after request made, to provide commodious Places for the said Burials of those of the said Religion, without the least Protraction, or Delays, under Penalty of five hundred Crowns, to be seiz'd on their proper Names and Persons. The said Officers and others are also forbidden to exact any thing for the Conveyance of the said dead Bodies, on pain of Extortion.

XXX. To the end that Justice may be done and ministred to our Subjects without Partiality, Hatred, or Favour, which is one of the principal Means to keep Peace and Concord among them; We have ordained, and do ordain that a Chamber shall be establish'd in our Court of Parliament of *Paris*, consisting of a President and sixteen Counsellors of the said Parliament; the which shall be called and entitled, *The Chamber of Edict*; which shall not only judge the Causes and Processes of those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion within the Jurisdiction of the said Court, but also those of the Jurisdiction of the Parliaments of *Normandy* and *Britany*, according to the Jurisdiction hereafter conferr'd upon it by this present Edict, and that until a Chamber be establish'd in each of the said Parliaments, to minister Justice upon the Place. We also ordain, that the four Offices of Counsellors in our said Parliament of *Paris*, remaining of the last Election by us made; shall be forthwith be-

bestowed on four of those of the said *Pro-Hamp IV.*  
~~puted~~ Reformed Religion, fitly qualify'd, and <sup>1598</sup> *Pope Sixt.*  
 capable to serve in the said Parliament; who <sup>indiv VIII</sup>  
 shall be distributed, viz. The first shall be re-  
 ceiv'd into the Chamber of the Edict, and the  
 other three in order as they shall be receiv'd  
 into three of the Chambers of the Inquests.  
 Moreover, the two first Offices of Lay-Coun-  
 sellors, that shall become vacant by Death,  
 shall also be given to two of those of the said  
 Pretended Reformed Religion; and the Per-  
 sons thus receiv'd, shall be distributed into  
 the two other Chambers of Inquests.

XXXI. Besides the Chambers heretofore esta-  
 blish'd at *Caster* for the Jurisdiction of our  
 Court of Parliament of *Theolouse*, which shall  
 be continu'd in the State it now stands; we  
 have for the same Considerations ordain'd and  
 do ordain, that in each of our Courts of  
 Parliament of *Grenoble* and *Bordeaux*, shall  
 also be establish'd a Chamber, consisting of  
 two Presidents, the one Catholick and the  
 other of the said Pretended Reformed Reli-  
 gion, and of twelve Counsellors; six of which  
 shall be Catholicks, and the other six of the  
 said Religion: which Catholick Presidents and  
 Counsellors shall be by Us selected and chosen  
 out of the Body of Our said Courts. And  
 as to those of the said Religion, a new Crea-  
 tion shall be made of a President and six Coun-  
 sellors for the Parliament of *Bordeaux*; and  
 of a President and three Counsellors for that  
 of *Grenoble*; the which, with the three Coun-  
 sellors of the said Religion, that are at pre-  
 sent of the said Parliament, shall be employ'd  
 in the said Chamber of *Dauphiné*. And the  
 said Offices of new Creation, shall be allow'd

Henry IV. the same Salaries, Honours, Authorities and  
 1598. Pre-eminences, as the others of the said Courts.  
 Pope Cle- And the said Sessions of the said Chamber of  
 ment VIII *Bordeaux*, shall be held at *Bordeaux*, or at  
*Nerac*, and that of *Dauphiné* at *Grenoble*.

XXXII. The said Chamber of *Dauphiné* shall determine the Causes of those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion of the Jurisdiction of Our Parliament of *Provence*, without being oblig'd to take Letters of Summons, or other Citations, any where but in our Chancery of *Dauphiné*: Neither shall those of the said Religion of *Normandy* or *Britany* be oblig'd to take out Summons, or other Citations any where but in our Chancery of *Paris*.

XXXIII. Our Subjects of the said Religion of the Parliament of *Burgundy*, shall have the Choice and Election to plead in the Chamber ordain'd in the Parliament of *Paris*, or in that of *Dauphiné*, neither shall they be oblig'd to take out Letters of Summons, or any other Citations, but in the said Chanceries of *Paris*, and of *Dauphiné*, according to their own Choice.

XXXIV. All the said Chambers compos'd as abovesaid, shall determine and judge in Sovereignty by Sentence Definitive, by Decrees excluding all others, of Suits and Differences mov'd and to be mov'd; in which those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion are concern'd as Principals, or Warranties, either as Plaintiffs, or Defendants, in all Matters, as well Civil as Criminal, whether the said Processes be by Writ, or Verbal Appeal, if the said Parties like it so, and one of them requires it, before any Plea in the Cause, in relation to Suits to be mov'd: Always excepting all matters of Benefices, and the Possessors of Tythes,

Tythes not enfeoff'd, Ecclesiastical Patronages, and Causes wherein the Demesne of the Church shall be concern'd, which shall all be try'd and judg'd in the Courts of Parliament; and the said Chambers of the Edict shall not be allow'd to take Cognizance of the same. It is also Our Will and Pleasure, that in order to judge and decide Criminal Causes, that shall happen among the said Ecclesiasticks, and those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, if the Ecclesiastick is Defendant, the Judgment of the Criminal Cause shall belong to our Sovereign Courts, exclusively to the said Chambers; and the Ecclesiastick being Plaintiff, and he of the said Religion Defendant, the Cognizance and Judgment of the Criminal Cause shall belong by Appeal, and in last Reference, to the said Establish'd Chambers. The said Chambers also in Vacation-Times shall determine of Matters referr'd by the Edicts and Ordinances to the Chambers establish'd in times of Vacation, each one in their Jurisdiction.

Henry IV.  
1598.  
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ment VIII

XXXV. The Chambers of *Grenoble* shall from this present be united and incorporated to the Body of the said Court of Parliament, and the Presidents and Counsellors of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, intituled Presidents and Counsellors of the said Court, and held in the Number and Rank of them. To this end they shall be first dispos'd of in the other Chambers, and then call'd and drawn out of them, to be employ'd, and to serve in that which we institute a-new; yet they shall assist, and have a Vote and Session in all the Deliberations that shall be made when the Chambers are assembled, and shall enjoy the same Salaries, Authorities and Pre-eminencies, as the other Presidents and Counsellors do.

Henry IV. XXXVI. It is also Our Will and Pleasure,  
 1598. that the said Chambers of *Castres* and *Bour-*  
 Pope Cle-*deaux*, shall be re-united, and incorporated into  
 ment VIII  
 the said Parliaments, in the same manner as  
 the others, when it shall be needful, and the  
 Causes that have mov'd Us to establish them  
 shall cease, and subsist no longer among our  
 Subjects: And therefore the Presidents and  
 Counsellors of the said Chambers, being of the  
 same Religion, shall be call'd and held for  
 Presidents and Counsellors of the said Courts.

XXXVII. There shall be also newly cre-  
 ated and erected in the Chamber ordain'd for  
 the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, two Substitutes  
 of Our Attorney and Advocate-General, of  
 which the Attorney's Substitute shall be a  
 Catholick and the other of the said Religion,  
 who shall be invested with the said Offices,  
 with competent Pensions.

XXXVIII. All the said Substitutes shall  
 take no other Quality than that of Substitutes;  
 and when the Chambers ordain'd for the Par-  
 liaments of *Bordeaux* and *Toulouse* shall be  
 united and incorporated into the said Parlia-  
 ments; the said Substitutes shall be provided  
 with Counsellors Places in the same.

XXXIX. The Expeditions of the Chancery  
 of the Chamber of *Bordeaux* shall be per-  
 form'd in the presence of two Counsellors of  
 the said Chamber; of which the one shall be  
 a Catholick, and the other of the said Pre-  
 tended Reformed Religion in the Absence of  
 one of the Masters of Request of our Hôtel,  
 or Household: And one of the Notaries and  
 Secretaries of the said Court of Parliament of  
*Bordeaux*, shall reside in the Place where the  
 said Chamber shall be establish'd; or else one  
 of the Secretaries in Ordinary of the Chance-  
 ry,

ry, to sign the Expeditions of the said Chan- Henry IV.  
cery.

XL. We will and command, That in the said Chamber of *Bordeaux*, there be two Clerks of the Register of the said Parliament; the one Civil, the other Criminal; who shall officiate by Our Commissions, and shall be called Clerks of the Registry Civil and Criminal; and therefore shall neither be displac'd nor revok'd by the said Registers, or chief Clerks of Parliament: Yet they shall be oblig'd to yield the Profit of the said Registries to the said Register; the which Clerks shall receive Salaries from the said Registers, according as it shall be thought fit, and order'd by the said Chamber. Moreover, Catholick Messengers shall be appointed there, who shall be taken out of the said Court, or elsewhere, according to our Pleasure; besides which, two new ones shall be erected, being of the said Reformed Religion, without their paying any Fees: All the said Messengers shall be directed by the said Chamber, both as to the Execution, and Precinct of their Office, as well as to the Fees they shall receive. A Commission shall also be dispatch'd for a Pay-Master of Salaries, and a Receiver of the Fines levy'd by the Chamber, who shall be chosen by Us, in case the said Chamber be establish'd in any other Place but the said City; and the Commission heretofore granted to the Pay-master of the Salaries of the Chamber of *Castres*, shall remain in full Force, and the Commission of Receiver of the Fines levy'd by the said Chamber shall be annex'd to the said Office.

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Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

XLI. Sufficient Assignations shall be provided for the Pensions or Salaries of the Officers of the Chambers ordain'd by this Edict.

Henry IV. XLII. The Presidents, Counsellors, and o-  
 1596. ther Catholick Officers of the said Chambers,  
 Pope Cle- shall be continu'd as long as possibly may be,  
 ment VIII and as we shall find it most expedient for Our  
 Service, and the Good of Our Subjects: And  
 in dismissing some, others shall be appointed  
 in their room before their Departure; and they  
 shall not, during the time of their Waiting,  
 absent themselves, or depart from the said  
 Chambers, without their Leave, which shall  
 be judg'd by the Proceedings of the Or-  
 dinance.

XLIII. The said Chambers shall be esta-  
 blish'd within six Months, during which, (if  
 the Establishment continue so long a settling:)  
 the Suits mov'd or to be mov'd, in which  
 those of the said Religion shall be Parties,  
 within the Jurisdiction of Our Parliaments of  
*Paris, Rouën, Dijon, and Rennes* shall be re-  
 mov'd, or summon'd to the Chamber at pre-  
 sent establish'd at *Paris*, by virtue of the  
 Edict of the Year 1577, or else to the  
 Great Council, at the Election and Choice of  
 those of the said Religion, if they require  
 it: Those that are of the Parliament of *Bour-*  
*deaux*, into the Chamber of *Castres*, or to the  
 said Great Council, at their Choice: And those  
 that are of *Provence*, to the Parliament of *Gre-*  
*noble*. And in case the said Chambers be not  
 establish'd within three Months after the Pre-  
 sentation there made of this Our present Edict,  
 such of Our Parliaments as shall have made  
 Refusal thereof, shall be prohibited to take  
 Cognizance, or judge the Causes of those of  
 the said Religion.

XLIV. Suits not yet determin'd, depending  
 in the said Courts of Parliament, and Grand  
 Council, of the Nature abovesaid, shall be re-  
 turn'd,

ren'd, in what State soever they stand, into Henry IV. the said Chambers, each Cause to its Court of 1598. reference, in case one of the Parties of the Pope Clement VIII said Religion requires it, within four Months after the Establishment thereof; and as for such as shall be discontinu'd, and are not in a state to come to trial, the above-mention'd of the said Religion shall be oblig'd to make a Declaration at the first Intimation and Signification they shall receive of the Pursuit; and the said Term being expir'd, they shall no longer be receiv'd to demand the said Returns.

XLV. The said Chambers of *Grenoble* and *Bordeaux*, as well as that of *Chartres*, shall observe the Stile and Forms of the Parliaments, within the Jurisdictions of which they shall be establish'd, and shall judge in equal Numbers both of the one, and other Religion, unless the Parties agree to the contrary.

XLVI. All the Judges, to whom the Executions, Decrees, Commissions, of the said Chambers, and Letters, obtain'd out of their Chanceries, shall be directed; as also all Messengers and Serjeants shall be bound to put them in execution; and the Messengers and Serjeants shall also be oblig'd to serve all their Warrants in all Parts of the Kingdom, without demanding *Placet*, *Visa*, nor *Pareatis*, on pain of Suspension of their Places, and paying the Damages, Charges and Interests of the Parties: The Censure whereof shall belong to the said Chambers.

XLVII. No Removal of Causes shall be allow'd, the trial of which is referr'd to the said Chambers, unless in the Case of the Ordinances, the Return whereof shall be made to the nearest Chamber establish'd according to Our Edict: And the Issues of Suits of the said



Henry IV. said Chamber shall be try'd in the next Chamber, observing the Proportion and Forms of  
 1598. the said Chamber, from whence the Process  
 Pope Clement VIII shall proceed, except for the Chambers of the  
 Edict in our Parliament of *Paris*; where the said Party-Suits shall be dispos'd of in the said Chamber, by Judges that shall be by Us nominated by our particular Letters to this end, unless the Parties had rather attend the Renovation of the said Chamber. And if it should happen that one and the same Suit should pass through all the Party-Chambers, the Issue thereof shall be return'd to the said Chamber of *Paris*.

XLVIII. Refusals propos'd against the Presidents and Counsellors of the Party-Chambers shall be allow'd to the Number of six, to which Number the Parties shall be restrain'd, otherwise they shall go forward without any regard to the said Refusals.

XLIX. The Examination of Presidents and Counsellors newly erected in the said Party-Chambers, shall be perform'd by Our Privy-Council, or by the said Chambers, each one within its Precincts, when their Number shall be sufficient: Nevertheless, the usual Oath shall be by them taken in the Courts where the said Chamber shall be establish'd, and upon their Refusal, in Our Privy-Council; except those of the Chamber of *Languedoc*, who shall take their Oath before Our Chancellor, or in the said Chamber.

L. We Will and Ordain, That the Reception of Our Officers of the said Religion, shall be judg'd in the said Party-Chambers by the Plurality of Votes; as it is usual in other Judgments, it not being requisite that the Votes should surpass two Thirds, according

to the Ordinance, the which in this respect Henry IV. is abrogated.

L. All Propositions, Deliberations and Resolutions, relating to the Publick Peace, and the particular Estate and Policy of the Cities, where the Party-Chambers shall reside, shall be made in the said Chambers.

LII. The Article of the Jurisdiction of the said Chambers, ordain'd by the present Edict, shall be follow'd and observ'd according to its Form and Tenor, even in what relates to the Execution, Omission, or Infraction of Our Edicts, when those of the said Religion shall be Parties.

LIII. The Subaltern Officers Royal, or others, the Reception of which belongs to Our Courts of Parliament, if they be of the said intended Reformed Religion, may be examin'd and receiv'd in the said Chambers: viz. Those of the Jurisdiction of the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Normandy*, and *Britany*, in the said Chambers of *Paris*; those of *Dauphiné* and *Provence*, in the Chamber of *Grenoble*; those of *Burgundy*, in the said Chamber of *Paris*; or of *Dauphiné*, at their Choice; those of the Jurisdiction of *Toulouse*, in the Chamber of *Cassas*; and those of the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, in the Chamber of *Guyenne*; and no other to oppose their Receptions, or make themselves Parties, but Our Attorneys-General, and their Substitutes, and those placed in the said Offices. Nevertheless, the accustomed Oath shall by them be taken in the Courts of Parliament, which shall not be allow'd to take cognizance of their Reception; and upon the Refusal of the said Parliament, the said Officers shall take the Oath in the said Chambers; which being thus taken, they shall be obliged

1598.  
Pope Clement VIII

Henry IV. oblig'd to present the Act of their Reception, by a Messenger or Notary to the Registers of the said Courts of Parliament, and to leave a compar'd Copy thereof, with the said Registers; who are enjoin'd to register the said Acts, on pain of paying all the Charges, Damages and Interests of the Parties: And in case the Registers should refuse to do it, it shall be sufficient for the said Officers to bring back the Act of the said Summons, drawn by the said Messengers, or Notaries, and to cause the same to be recorded in the Registers of their said Jurisdictions; there to be view'd when Need shall require, on pain of Nullity of their Proceedings and Judgments. And as for those Officers, whose Reception is not to be made in Our said Parliaments; in case those by whom it ought to be made should refuse to proceed to the said Examination and Reception, the said Officers shall repair to the said Chambers, where care shall be taken for their said Reception.

LIV. The Officers of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, who shall be chosen hereafter, to serve in the Body of Our said Court of Parliament, Grand Council, Chambers of Accounts, Courts of Aids, and in the Offices of the Treasurer-General of *France*, and other Officers of the Exchequers, shall be examin'd and receiv'd in the Places where it was usually perform'd; and in case of Refusal, or Denial of Justice, they shall be constituted in Our Privy-Council.

LV. The Reception of Our Officers made in the Chamber establish'd heretofore at *Castres*, shall remain in force, all Decrees and Ordinances thereunto contrary, notwithstanding. The Reception of Our Judges, Counsellors and other

other Officers of the said Religion, made in Henry IV. Our Privy-Council, or by Commissioners by Us <sup>1598.</sup> *Pope Cle-* nominated upon the Refusal of Our Courts of *ment VIII* Parliament, of Aids, and Chambers of Account, shall also be as valid, as if they had been made in the said Courts and Chambers and by other Judges, to whom those Receptions appertain. And their Salaries shall be allow'd by the Chambers of Accounts, without Difficulty: And if any have been dismiss'd, they shall be re-establish'd without any farther *Mandamus* than this present Edict; and the said Officers shall not be oblig'd to show any other Reception; all Decrees given to the contrary notwithstanding; the which shall remain void, and of no effect.


LVI. Until Means be procur'd to defray the Expences of Justice of Our said Chambers out of the Moneys of Fines and Confiscations, we will assign a valuable and sufficient Fund to discharge the said Expences, which Money shall be return'd out of the Estates of the Persons condemned.

LVII. The Presidents and Counsellors of the said Pretended Reformed Religion heretofore receiv'd into Our Courts of Parliament of *Dauphiné*, and in the Chamber of the Edict, incorporated into the same, shall continue and hold their Place and Order there, *viz.* The Presidents as they did and do enjoy them at present; and the Counsellors according to the Decrees and Patents they have obtain'd about it in Our Privy-Council.

LVIII. We declare all Sentences, Judgments, Decrees, Proceedings, Seizures, Sales, and Orders made and given against those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, whether dead, or alive, since the Death of the late King;

Henry IV. King *Henry* the Second, our most honour'd Lord  
 1598. and Father-in-Law, by reason of the said Reli-  
 Pope Cle- gion, Tumults and Troubles happen'd since,  
 ment VIII together with the Execution of the said Judg-  
 ments and Decrees from this present, cancelled,  
 revoked, and nullified, and the same do cancel,  
 revoke, and nullify. We order the same to  
 be raz'd and wip'd out of the Records of the  
 Registers of Courts, as well sovereign as infe-  
 rior. As it is likewise our Pleasure, that all  
 Marks, Tracks and Monuments of the said Ex-  
 ecutions, Books and Acts defamatory to their  
 Persons, Memory and Posterity, shall be re-  
 mov'd and defac'd: And that the Places in  
 which have been made upon that account, De-  
 molishments or Razings, shall be restor'd to  
 the Owners in such a Condition as they are,  
 the same to enjoy and to dispose of as they shall  
 think fit. And we have generally revok'd,  
 cancell'd, and nullified all Proceedings and In-  
 formations made for any Enterprizes whatever,  
 pretended Crimes of Lese-Majesty and others.  
 Notwithstanding which Proceedings, Decrees  
 and Judgments, comprehending Reunion, In-  
 corporation, and Confiscation, it is our Plea-  
 sure that those of the said Religion, and others  
 who have been engag'd in their Party, and their  
 Heirs, shall re-enter into the real and actual  
 possession of all and every their Estates.

LIX. All Proceedings made, Judgments  
 and Decrees given during the Troubles, against  
 those of the said Religion, who have born  
 Arms, or withdrawn themselves out of our  
 Realm or within the same, into Cities and  
 Countries held by them upon another account  
 than that of Religion and the Troubles, toge-  
 ther with all Nonuits and Prescriptions, either  
 legal, conventional, or customary, and feudal  
 Seizures,

Seizures, befallen during the Troubles, or by Henry IV. lawful Impediments proceeding from them, the <sup>1598.</sup> *Pope Cle-* cognizance whereof shall remain in our Judges, *ment VIII* shall be esteem'd as not perform'd, granted, or  happen'd; and such we have declared, and do declare them to be, and have annihilated and do annihilate them; for all which the said Parties shall have no other redress: but to be restor'd to the same state in which they were before, the said Decrees and Execution thereof notwithstanding; and the Possession they had formerly, shall be restor'd to them in this respect. What is above-mention'd shall also take place, in relation to others who have been engag'd in the Party of those of the said Religion, or that have absented themselves out of our Kingdom, by reason of the Troubles. And as for the Children under age of those of the Quality abovesaid, who died during the Troubles, we restore the Parties to the same Estate in which they were before, without refunding the Charges, or being bound to consign the Fines or Amerciaments; but yet we do not mean that Judgments given by presidial or other inferiour Judges, against those of the said Religion, or those who have been engaged in their Party, should remain void, if given by Judges, holding Sessions in Cities held by them, to which they had a free Access.

LX. The Decrees given in our Courts of Parliament, in matters, the Cognizance whereof belongs to the Chambers ordain'd by the Edict in the Year 1577. and the Articles of *Nerac* and *Flex*, in which Courts the Parties have not proceeded voluntarily; that is, they have alledg'd and propos'd Ends declinatory, or that have been given by Default or Exclusion,

Henry IV. sion, either in Matters civil or criminal, notwithstanding which Ends, the said Parties have  
 1598. Pope Clement VIII been constrain'd to go forward, shall likewise be  
 { annihilated, and of no value. And as for the Decrees given against those of the said Religion, who have proceeded voluntarily, without proposing declinatory Ends, the said Decrees shall remain in force; yet nevertheleess without prejudice to the Execution thereof, they shall be allow'd, if they think good, to take some course by civil Request, before the Chambers ordain'd by the present Edict; and the Time run on, mention'd by the Ordinances, shall be no prejudice to them; and until the said Chambers, and their Chanceries are establish'd, the verbal Appeals or those by Writ brought in by those of the said Religion, before the Judges, Registers, or Commissioners, Executors, of Decrees and Judgments, shall take the same Effect, as if they had been sued out by Letters Patent.

LXI. In all Inquiries that shall be made upon any Occasion whatsoever, in Civil Matters, if the Inquisitor or Commissary be a Catholick, the Parties shall be obliged to agree about an Associate; and in case they cannot agree about one, the said Inquisitor or Commissary shall take one out of the Office, being of the said Pretended Reformed Religion; and the same shall be practised when the Commissary or Inquisitor shall be of the said Religion, for a Catholick Adjunct.

LXII. We will and ordain, That our Judges shall determine the Validity of Testaments, in which those of the said Religion shall be concern'd, if they require it; and the Appeals of the said Judgments may be sued out by those of the said Religion, notwithstanding all Customs

toms contrary thereunto, even those of *Brittany*. Henry IV.

LXIII. To prevent all Differences that might happen between Our Courts of Parliament, and the Chambers of the said Courts, ordain'd by Our present Edict; We will set down an ample and plain Order between the said Courts and Chambers, by which those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion shall fully enjoy the Benefit of the said Edict. Which Order shall be verified in Our Courts of Parliament, which shall be kept and observ'd without having a Respect to those that have been made before.

LXIV. We prohibit and forbid all Our Sovereign Courts, and others of this Kingdom, to take Cognizance; and judge the Processes, Civil and Criminal, of those of the said Religion, the Trial whereof, by Our Edict, is referr'd to the said Chambers, provided the Return be demanded, as it is specify'd by the fortieth Article above-written.

LXV. Our Will also is, by way of Provision, until We have otherwise ordain'd it, that in all Suits mov'd, or to be mov'd, in which those of the said Religion shall stand as Plaintiffs, or Defendants, principal Parties, or Warrantees in Civil Causes, in which our Officers and Presidial Tribunals have Power to judge definitively; they be permitted to demand that two of the Chamber, where the Cause is to be try'd, abstain from the Judgment of them; who without alledging any Cause, shall be bound in this Case to abstain, notwithstanding the Ordinance by which the Judges cannot be excepted against without just Cause; there remaining to them besides, Refusals of Right against the others. And in Criminal Cases, in which the said Presidial



Henry IV. Judges, and other subaltern or inferior Judges  
 1598. Royal, judge definitively; the Persons im-  
 Pope Cle- peach'd being of the said Religion, shall also  
 ment VIII be allow'd to challenge three of the Judges  
 peremptorily. The Provosts of the Marshals  
 of *France*, Vice-Bailiffs, Vice-Seneschals, Lieu-  
 tenants of the Short-Robe, and other Officers  
 of the like Quality, shall also judge according  
 to the Ordinance and Rules heretofore given,  
 in relation to Vagabonds. And as for House-  
 keepers charg'd and impeach'd with any Pro-  
 vostal or publick Crime, if they be of the said  
 Religion, they shall also be allow'd to demand  
 that three of the said Judges, who may take  
 Cognizance thereof, abstain from the Judg-  
 ment of their Causes, which the said Judges  
 shall be oblig'd to do, without any Expression  
 of Cause; except when in the Assembly where  
 the said Causes shall be judg'd, there hap-  
 pen to be the Number of two in Civil Mat-  
 ters, and three in Criminal Cases of those of  
 the said Religion, in which Case they shall  
 not be allow'd to challenge peremptorily,  
 without showing Cause; the which shall be  
 common and reciprocal to Catholicks in Man-  
 ner and Form above-mention'd in respect to  
 the Refusal of Judges, where those of the said  
 Pretended Reformed Religion shall exceed the  
 others in Number. Nevertheless, We do not  
 mean that the said Presidial-Tribunals, Pro-  
 vosts-Marshals, Vice-Bailiffs, Vice-Seneschals,  
 and others, who judge definitively, should by  
 virtue of what is abovesaid, take Cognizance  
 of the Troubles past. And as for Crimes and  
 Excesses committed upon other Occasions,  
 than that of the Troubles past, from the Be-  
 ginning of *March* 1585, to the End of the  
 Year 1597, in Case they do take Cognizance  
 of

of them: It is Our Will, that Appeals may Henry IV.  
be had from their Judgments, before the <sup>1598.</sup>  
Chambers ordain'd by the present Edict; as <sup>Pope Cle-</sup>  
shall in the like manner be practis'd for Catho- <sup>ment VIII</sup>  
lick Accomplices, where some of those of the  
Pretended Reformed Religion shall be Parties.

LXVI. We also Will and Ordain, That  
henceforward in all Instructions, except Infor-  
mations of Criminal Causes, in the Seneschal-  
ships of *Tbolouse, Carcassonne, Rouergue, Lau-*  
*ragais, Beziers, Montpellier* and *Nimes*, the  
Magistrate, or Commissary, deputed for the  
said Instruction, if he be a Catholick, shall be  
bound to take an Associate of the Pretended  
Reformed Religion, which the Parties shall  
agree about; and in Case they cannot agree,  
one of the said Religion shall be taken out of  
the Office, by the aforesaid Magistrate, or Com-  
missary: As in like manner, If the Magistrate,  
or Commissary, be of the said Religion, he  
shall be oblig'd in the Manner and Form afore-  
said to take a Catholick Assistant.

LXVII. When any Householder of the said  
Religion, being charg'd and accus'd of any  
publick Crimes, shall be try'd before the Pro-  
vofts Marshals, or their Lieutenants, the said  
Provofts, or their Lieutenants, being Catho-  
icks, shall be obliged to call to the Proceed-  
ings of such a Matter, an Assistant of the said  
Religion; who shall also assist at the Trial of  
the Competency of the Indictment, and at the  
Judgment definitive of the Matter; which  
Competency shall only be try'd at the next  
residial Tribunal, in open Assembly, by the  
Chief Officers of the said Court, being actually  
there on pain of Nullity, unless the Persons  
accus'd, desire to have the said Competency  
try'd in the Chambers ordain'd by the pre-

Henry IV. sent Edict. In which Case, in respect to the  
 1598. Householders of the Provinces of *Guyenne, Lan-*  
*Pope Cle-* *guedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné,* the Substitutes  
 ment VIII of our Attorneys-General in the said Cham-  
 bers, shall at the Request of the said House-  
 holders, cause the said Charges and Informa-  
 tions against them, to be brought before them,  
 to know and determine, whether the Causes  
 are liable to Provosts-Courts or not; in order,  
 according to the Nature of the Crimes, to be  
 return'd by the said Chambers to the Ordinary  
 Judge, or else to be try'd by the Provostal  
 Judges, according as they shall judge it rea-  
 sonable, and suitable to the Contents of this  
 Our present Edict: And all the said Presidial-  
 Judges, Provosts-Marshals, Vice-Bailiffs, Vice-  
 Seneschals, and others, who judge definitively,  
 shall be oblig'd respectively to obey and ob-  
 serve the Commands they shall receive from  
 the said Chambers, as they use to respect the  
 Orders of the said Parliaments, on Forfeiture  
 of their Places.

LXVIII. The Publication of Sale, and Sei-  
 zures, Outcries, and selling of Inheritances by  
 the Spear, in pursuance of a Decree, shall be  
 perform'd at the usual Places and Houses, if  
 possible, according to Our Ordinances; or else  
 in publick Market-Places, in Case there be  
 any Market-Places in the Place where the said  
 Inheritances are seated; and where there are  
 none, it shall be done in the next Market-  
 Place within the Precinct of the Session where  
 the Adjudication is to be made, and the Paper  
 of Notice shall be fasten'd on a Post in the  
 said Market; and at the Entrance of the Au-  
 ditorys, or Sessions-House of the said Place;  
 and in so doing, the said Publications shall be  
 good and valid, and they shall proceed to  
 the

the Passing of the Order for the Sale of the Goods, without minding the Nullities that might be alledg'd in that respect.

Henry IV.  
1598.  
Pope Clement VIII

LXIX. All Titles, Papers, Instruments, and Informations, that have been taken, shall be restored on both Sides to the Owners, altho' the said Papers, or the Castles, or Houses, in which they were kept, were taken and seiz'd, either by special Commissions from the late King, Our most honour'd Lord and Brother-in-Law; or from Us, or by the Command of the Governours and Lieutenants-General of Our Provinces, or by the Authority of the Chiefs of the other Side, or under any Pretence whatever.

LXX. The Children of such as have withdrawn themselves out of Our Kingdom, since the Death of the late King *Henry II.* Our most honour'd Lord and Father-in-Law, on the account of Religion, and the Troubles, tho' the said Children be born out of this Kingdom, shall be held for true *Frenchmen* and Natives, and as such We have declar'd and do declare them to be, without their being oblig'd to take Letters of Naturalization, or other Warrants from us, but the present Edict: All Ordirances thereunto contrary notwithstanding; to which We have derogated, and do derogate, upon Condition, that the said Children born in foreign Countries, shall be oblig'd within ten Years after the said Publication of these Presents, to come and reside in this Kingdom.

LXXI. Those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, who shall have taken to Farm, before the Troubles, any Offices, or other Demesnes, Customs, Foreign Impositions, or other Duties to Us belonging, the which

Henry IV. they have not been able to enjoy, by reason of  
 1598. the Troubles, shall remain discharg'd, as We do  
 Pope Cle- hereby discharge them of what they have not  
 ment VIII receiv'd of the said Farms, or what they have  
 paid without Fraud, any where out of Our  
 Exchequer: All Obligations enter'd into by  
 them upon this Account, notwithstanding.

LXXII. All Places, Cities, and Provinces  
 of Our Kingdom, Countries, Lands, and Lord-  
 ships under Our Obedience, shall have and  
 enjoy the same Privileges, Immunities, Liber-  
 ties, Franchises, Fairs, Markets, Jurisdictions,  
 and Seats of Justice, as they did before the  
 Troubles, begun in the Month of *March* 1585.  
 And others preceding, all Letters-Patents  
 thereunto contrary, and the Translation of some  
 of the said Seats notwithstanding; provided  
 it was only upon the Account of the Trou-  
 bles: which Seats shall be re-establish'd in the  
 Cities and Places where they were before.

LXXIII. In Case there be yet any Pri-  
 soners detain'd by Authority of Justice, or  
 otherwise, even in the Gallies, by reason of  
 the Troubles; or of the said Religion, they  
 shall be set at liberty.

LXXIV. Those of the said Religion shall  
 not hereafter be surcharg'd or oppress'd with  
 any ordinary or extraordinary Imposition, more  
 than the Catholicks, and according to the  
 Proportion of their Estates and Substance; and  
 the Parties that think themselves over-bur-  
 then'd, may have Recourse to, and shall be re-  
 dress'd by the Judges appointed for that Sub-  
 ject: And all Our Subjects, whether Catho-  
 licks, or of the said Pretended Reformed Re-  
 ligion, shall be equally discharg'd of all Char-  
 ges that have been impos'd on both Sides  
 during the Troubles, on those that were of a  
 contrary

contrary Party, and not consenting; as also of Henry IV. Debts, created and not paid, Expences made <sup>1598.</sup> without their Approbation; but yet there shall <sup>Pope Clement VIII</sup> be no Returns made of the Fruits that shall have been imploy'd for the Payment of the said Charges.

LXXV. Neither do We allow that those of the said Religion and others, who have been engag'd in their Party; nor the Catholics, who dwell in the Cities, Towns, and Places, held and detain'd by them, and who have contributed to them, should be prosecuted for the Payment of Taxes, Aids, Grants, Increase, Assessments, Wastes, and Reparations, and other Impositions and Subsidies due, and impos'd during the Troubles that happen'd before, and since Our coming to the Crown; either by Edicts, Orders from the late Kings Our Predecessors, or by Advice and Deliberation of the Governors and Estates of the Provinces, Courts of Parliament, and others, whereof We have discharg'd, and do discharge them; forbidding Our Treasurers-General of *France*, and of Our Exchequers, Receivers General and Particular, their Clerks, Intermeddlers, and other Intendants and Commissaries of our Exchequer, to prosecute, molest, or trouble them for the same directly or indirectly, in any Way whatever.

LXXVI. All Commanders, Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers, Corporations of Cities, Towns, and Commonalties, and all others, who have aided and assisted them; their Widows, Heirs, and Successors, shall be acquitted and discharg'd of all Sums, that have been taken and receiv'd by them, or their Orders, as well belonging to the Crown, to whatever Sums they may amount; as out of Cities, Towns, and Commonalties,

employ'd for the running or the raising of  
such as have given or furnish'd them by  
Order, shall be any ways prosecuted ei-  
ther the Time being, or to come; and be-  
cause and their Commissioners, or Clerks, shall  
be acquitted and discharg'd for all the Bu-  
rden and Administration of the said  
bringing in for a full Discharge, within  
Six Months after the Publication of the  
Edict, made in Our Court of Parliamen-  
t at *Paris*, Acquittances duely expedited  
from the Chiefs of the said Religion, or from the  
places where they were employ'd by them for the Au-  
thority clearing of Accounts, or from the Con-  
tinent of Cities, which had Authority and  
Command during the said Troubles. They  
shall in like manner remain acquitted and dis-  
charged of all Acts of Hostility, Levies, and  
of Soldiers, Coining and Rating of  
done by Order of the said Chiefs; Capt  
Taking of Artillery and Munitions,  
of Powder and Salt-peter; the Taking  
surrendering, Dismantling, and Demolishing  
Castles, Towns, and Villages, Ent

blish'd among them, of Voyages and Intelli-<sup>Henry IV.</sup>  
gences, Negotiations, Treaties, and Contracts <sup>1598.</sup>  
made with all foreign Princes, and Commonal-<sup>Pope Cle-</sup>  
ties, and the Introduction of the said Foreigners <sup>ment VIII</sup>  
into the Cities, and other Places of our King-  
dom, and generally of all that has been done,  
or negotiated during the said Troubles, since  
the Death of the late King *Henry II.* our most  
honour'd Lord and Father-in-Law, by those  
of the said Religion, and others who have  
been engaged in their Party, tho' it be not par-  
ticularly specify'd nor express'd.

LXXVII. Those of the said Religion shall  
also be discharg'd for all General and Provin-  
cial Assemblies, made and held by them both  
at *Nantz* and elsewhere since, until this present  
Time; likewise for the Councils by them esta-  
blish'd and ordain'd in the Provinces, Delibe-  
rations, Ordinances, and Regulations made by  
the said Assemblies, and Councils, Establish-  
ment and Augmentation of Garisons, Assem-  
bling of Soldiers, Raising and Taking of Mo-  
ney either from the Receivers-General, or from  
particular Persons, Collectors of Parishes, or  
others, in any kind whatever; Seizing of Salt,  
Continuation or new Erection of Impositions,  
and Tolls, and Receipts of the same, even at  
*Royan*, and upon the Rivers *Charante*, *Garonne*,  
*Rhone*, *Dordogne*, equipping of Ships and Sea-  
Fights, and all Accidents and Excesses, occa-  
sion'd by obliging People to pay the said Im-  
positions, Tolls, and other Moneys, Forti-  
fications of Cities, Castles, and Places, Im-  
positions of Money, and Average, Receipts of  
the said Money, turning out of our Receivers  
and Farmers, and other Officers, establishing of  
others in their room, and for all Unions, Dis-  
patches, and Negotiations, made either within  
or



the future, altho' the Particulars are  
fixed here. And upon the Whole,  
Silence shall be impos'd to our Attorn  
ral and their Substitutes, and to al  
could have any Pretence to it in any  
manner whatever; all Sentences, Ju  
Informations, and Proceedings to the  
notwithstanding.

LXXVIII. Moreover, we appro  
firm, and authorize the Accounts t  
been heard, allow'd, and examin'd by  
puties of the said Assembly. And t  
same, together with the Acquittances  
pers that have been return'd by the  
tants, to be carried into our Chamber  
counts at *Paris*, within three Months  
Publication of the present Edict, and  
into the Hands of our Attorney-Gener  
deliver'd to the Keeper of the Books  
gisters of our Chamber, there to be v  
often as shall be necessary; neither s  
said Accounts be examin'd a-new, or  
countants be obliged to appear, or to  
any Thing. unless in the Case of Omi

vinces where they are establish'd, to take any Cognizance thereof in any kind whatever.

Henry IV.  
1598.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

LXXIX. As for the Accounts that have not been deliver'd yet, they shall be heard, pass'd and examin'd by Commissioners appointed by us, who shall without Difficulty pass, and allow all the Accounts paid by the said Accountants, by virtue of the Ordinances of the said Assembly, or others, who were in Power.

LXXX. All Collectors, Receivers, Farmers, and others, shall be well and duly discharg'd for all the Sums by them paid to the Commissioners of the said Assembly, whatever nature they were of, until the last Day of this Month. We order the Whole to be pass'd and allow'd in the Accounts that shall be given thereof, in our Chambers of Accounts, meerly by virtue of the Acquittances they shall bring along with them; and in case any should be expedited or deliver'd hereafter, they shall be void; and those who shall accept or deliver them, shall be fin'd as Falsificators. And in case any of the Accounts already deliver'd should be blotted, or raz'd, and excepted against, we do in that respect remove the said Scruples, and allow the said Accounts to be good, by virtue of these Presents, and there shall be no need for all that is above-said of any particular Letters, nor any Thing else, for all which the Extract of the present Article will suffice.

LXXXI. The Governors, Captains, Consuls, and other Persons imploy'd for the Collection of the Money to pay the Garisons of the Places held by those of the said Religion, to whom our Receivers and Collectors of Parishes shall have furnish'd by way of Loan upon their Notes and Bonds, either by Force, or to obey the Commands made to them by the

Treasurers-

Henry IV. <sup>1598.</sup> *Pope* Treasurers-General, such Sums of Money as *Cle-* were necessary to pay off the said Garisons, to *ment* VIII the Value of what was specify'd in the Settle-  
 ment we caus'd to be made in the beginning of the Year 1596 ; and the Additions that have been since by us granted, are hereby acquitted and discharg'd of what has been paid for the abovesaid Use, altho' it is not expresly mention'd in the said Notes and Bonds, the which shall be restor'd to them as annihilated. And in order thereunto, the Treasurers-General in every Generality, shall order the particular Receivers of our Taxes to give the said Collectors their Acquittances, and the Receivers-General their Acquittances to the said particular Receivers: For the Discharge of which Receivers-General, the Sums they shall have accounted for, as abovesaid, shall be endors'd upon the Orders given to the Treasurer of the Exchequer, sign'd by the Treasurers-General of the Extraordinary of our Wars, for the Payment of the said Garisons. And in Case the said Orders do not amount to as much as is specify'd by our said Settlement of the Year 1596, and the Additions, it is our Pleasure, in order to supply the same, that new Orders shall be given, for as much as may be wanting for the Discharge of our Accomptants, and the Restitution 'of the said Promises and Bonds, to the end that nothing may be requir'd hereafter, from those that have given them; and that all necessary Letters of Inforcement, and Ratification for the Discharge of the said Accomptants, be issued out by virtue of this present Article.

LXXXII. And therefore, those of the said Religion shall give over and desist, from this very  
 time,

me, all Practices, Negotiations and Intelligen- Henry IV.  
ces, both at home and abroad; and the said As- 1598.  
semblies and Councils establish'd in the Pro- Pope Cle-  
vinces shall strait break up: And all Leagues ment VIII  
and Associations made or to be made, under  
any Pretence whatever, to the prejudice of our  
present Edict, shall be cancell'd and annul'd,  
as we do hereby cancel and annul them; for-  
bidding all our Subjects most expressly hence-  
forward to make any Assessments and Raisings  
of Money, without our Leave, Fortifications,  
Liftings of Men, Congregations and Assemblies,  
besides those that are allow'd them by the pre-  
sent Edicts, and without Arms; which we do  
prohibit and forbid them, on pain of rigorous  
Punishments, and as Contemners and Infractors  
of our Commands and Ordinances.

LXXXIII. All Prizes taken at Sea, during  
the Troubles, by virtue of the Permissions  
given, and all such as have been taken by Land,  
upon those of the contrary Party, which have  
been judg'd by the Judges and Commissioners  
of the Admiralty, or by the Chiefs of those  
of the said Religion, or their Council, shall  
lie dormant under the Benefit of our present  
Edicts, and no manner of Prosecution shall be  
made for the same; neither shall the Captains,  
and others who have taken the said Prizes, and  
the said Judges, Officers, their Widows and  
Heirs be any wise prosecuted or molested upon  
that account; notwithstanding all Decrees of  
our Privy-Council, and Parliaments, and all  
Letters of Marque, and Seizures depending and  
ingag'd, for all which we do release and dis-  
charge them.

LXXXIV. Neither shall those of the said  
Religion be call'd to an account for their having  
heretofore, and even since the Troubles, op-  
pos'd

Henry IV. pos'd and hindered the Execution of the De-  
 crees and Judgments given for the Re-estab-  
 1598. *Pope Cle-*lishment of the Catholick, Apostolick and Ro-  
 ment VIII *man* Religion, in divers Places of this Kingdom.

LXXXV. As for what has been taken or done during the Troubles, otherwise than by way of Hostility, or by Hostility contrary to the Publick or particular Regulations of the Chiefs, or of the Commonalties of the Provinces who were impower'd, they shall be prosecuted according to Law.

LXXXVI. Nevertheless, whereas, if what has been done against the Regulations on both Sides were indifferently excepted from the General Pardon granted by this our present Edit, and liable to be prosecuted, there are few Men in the Armies, who might not be put to trouble, which might occasion a Renovation of Troubles; it is our Will and Pleasure, that none but execrable Crimes should be excepted out of the said General Pardon, *viz.* Ravishments, Incendiaries, Murders and Robberies committed with a Design and Premeditation, not in the way of Hostility, but out of private Ends and Revenge, against the Laws of Arms; Infraction of Passports and Safeguards, together with Murders and Plunderings without Orders, in relation to those of the said Religion, and others who have followed the Party of the Chiefs that had Authority over them, grounded upon particular Occasions that may have mov'd them to command or order it.


LXXXVII. We also order, That the Crimes and Offences against Persons of the same Party shall be punish'd, unless in Acts commanded by the Chiefs of either Side, according to the Necessity, Law and Orders of War. And as for the Raisings and Exactions of Money,  
 Bearing

Bearing of Arms, and other Exploits of War committed by private Authority, and without Command, they shall be prosecuted according to Law. Henry IV. 1598.  
Pope Clement VIII

LXXXVIII. The Ruins and Demolishments that have been made in Cities and Towns during the Troubles, may be rebuilt and repair'd with our Leave, by the Inhabitants at their proper Cost and Charges, and the Letters-Patent allow'd heretofore to that end, shall remain in force.

LXXXIX. It is our Will and Pleasure, and positive Command, That all the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen and others, of what Quality soever, of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, shall re-enter, and be effectually restor'd to the Enjoyment of all and every their Estates, Titles, Names, Reasons, and Actions, notwithstanding the Judgments given against them during the Troubles, and by reason thereof; which Decrees, Seizures, Judgments, and all that followed thereupon, we have declar'd to that end, and do declare null, and of no Effect and Value.

XC. The Acquisitions which those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, and others, who have been engag'd in their Party, have made by other Authority than that of the late Kings, our Predecessors, about the Immoveables belonging to the Church, shall be void and of no Effect; and therefore we order, and it is our Will and Pleasure, that the Ecclesiasticks shall be restor'd immediately, and without Delay, and shall be preserv'd in the Possession, and real and actual Enjoyments of the Estates thus alienated, and without being oblig'd to return the Price of the said Sales; the said Contracts of

Henry IV. Sale notwithstanding, the which therefore we  
 1598. have revok'd, and do revoke; nevertheless,  
 Pope Cle- allowing the Purchasers their Recourse at Law  
 ment VIII  against the Chiefs, by whose Authority the said  
 Estates should have been sold. However, for  
 the Reimbursement of the Sums by them really  
 and without Fraud disburs'd, we will grant our  
 Letters-Patent to those of the said Religion, to  
 impose and equal upon themselves the Sums to  
 which the said Sales will amount; and the said  
 Purchasers shall have no Actions against them  
 for Damages and Interests for want of Enjoy-  
 ment, but shall rest satisfied with the Restitution  
 of the Money by them disburs'd for the said  
 Acquisitions; including upon the said Price the  
 Fruits by them receiv'd, in case the said Sales  
 are found to be made at a low unjust Price.


XCI. And to the end that our Justicers, Of-  
 ficers, and other Subjects may be clearly and  
 with Certainty acquainted with our Intentions;  
 and to remove all Ambiguities and Doubts that  
 might arise upon the account of the precedent  
 Edicts, by reason of the Diversity thereof; we  
 have and do declare all other preceding Edicts,  
 secret Articles, Letters, Declarations, Modifi-  
 cations, Ratifications, Interpretations, Decrees  
 and Registers, as well secret, as other Delibe-  
 rations heretofore by us, or by the Kings our  
 Predecessors made in our Courts of Parliament,  
 or elsewhere, relating to the Case of the said  
 Religion, and the Troubles happen'd in our said  
 Kingdom, to be null and of no effect; to all  
 which, and the Derogatories therein contain'd,  
 we have by this our Edict derogated and do  
 derogate from this Time forward, as well as for  
 that Time, do cancel, revoke and annul them:  
 Declaring expressly, that we will have this our  
 Edict to be firm and inviolable, kept and ob-  
 serv'd

serv'd as well by our said Justicers, Officers, Henry IV.  
as by other Subjects, without any Regard to 1598.  
any thing that might be contrary, or derogating Pope Cle-  
to it. ment VIII

XCII. And for the better Assurance of the Maintenance and Observance we desire to have thereof, we will and ordain, and it is our Pleasure, that all the Governors and Lieutenants-General of our Provinces, Bayliffs, Seneschals, and other Judges in ordinary of the Cities of this our Kingdom, immediately after the Receipts of this our Edict, shall swear to have it kept and observ'd, every one in their several Precincts; as also the Mayors, Sheriffs, Capitouls, Consuls, and Jurats of Cities, annual and perpetual: Enjoining also our said Bayliffs, Seneschals, or their Lieutenants and other Judges, to make the principal Inhabitants of the said Cities of both Religions swear to observe and maintain the same, immediately after the Publication thereof. Putting all those of the Cities under our Protection, and under the Guard of one another; charging them respectively, and by publick Acts, to answer at the Civil Law, for the Transgression that shall be made of this our said Edicts in the said Cities by the Inhabitants thereof, or to represent and deliver the said Infractors into the hands of Justice.

We command our Trusty and Well-Beloved, the Persons holding our Courts of Parliament, Chambers of Accounts, and Courts of Aids, immediately upon Receipt of the present Edict, to put a stop to all their Proceedings, on pain of Nullity of all the Acts they should pass, and to take the Oath above-mention'd, and this our Edict to publish and register in our said Courts, according to the Form and Tenor there-



Henry IV. of, exactly as it is, without any Modification,  
 1598. Restrictions, secret Registers, or Declarations,  
 Pope Cle- and without expecting any farther Order or  
 ment VIII  Command from us; and our Attorneys-General  
 to require and prosecute the said immediate  
 Publication thereof.

We also order our said Persons holding our  
 said Courts of Parliament, Chambers of our  
 Accounts, and Courts of Aids, Bailiffs, Senef-  
 chals, Provosts, and others our Justicers and  
 Officers to whom it may belong, and to their  
 Lieutenants, to cause this our present Edict and  
 Ordinance to be read, publish'd and register'd  
 in their Courts and Jurisdictions, and the same  
 to maintain, keep and observe in every Parti-  
 cular; and to make all such whom it may con-  
 cern, enjoy and use the Benefit thereof; put-  
 ting a stop to all Troubles and Hinderances  
 thereunto contrary. For such is our Pleasure.  
 For Witness whereof we have sign'd these  
 Presents with our own Hand; and to the same,  
 in order to its being firm and lasting for ever,  
 We have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd.

Given at *Nantes*, in the Month of *April*, in  
 the Year of our Lord 1598, and of our Reign  
 the Ninth.

Sign'd,

*H E N R Y.*

And underneath, By the King, being in his  
 Council,

*F O R G E T.*

And on the Side.

*V I S A.*

And seal'd with the Great-Seal of Green-  
 Wax, upon Knots of red and green Silk. Read,  
 publish'd and register'd, heard, with the ap-  
 probation

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 245

probation of the King's Attorney-General at <sup>Henry IV.</sup> *Paris*, in Parliament, on the 25th of *February*, <sup>1598.</sup> *1599.* *Pope Clement VIII*

Sign'd,

V O Y S I N.

Read, publish'd and register'd in the Chamber of Accounts, heard, and approv'd by the King's Attorney-General, on the last Day of *March*, 1599.

Sign'd,

DE LA FONTAINE.

Read, publish'd and registred, heard and approv'd by the King's Attorney-General at *Paris*, in the Court of Aids, the 30th of *April*, 1599.

Sign'd.

B E R N A R D.

*Particular Articles, extracted from the General ones, that have been granted by the King to those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, the which his Majesty would not have comprehended into the said General Articles, nor in the Ediēt that hath been made and drawn up-on the same given at Nantes, in the Month of April last; and yet nevertheless, his Majesty has granted that they shall be fully accomplish'd and observ'd, in the same Manner as the Contents of the said Ediēt. To which End they shall be Registered in his Courts of Parliament and elsewhere, where it shall be necessary; and all necessary Declarations and Letters-Patent to that End, shall be forthwith expedited.*

. THE VIth Article of the said Ediēt,  
about Liberty of Conscience, and Leave

R 3

for

Henry IV. for all his Majesty's Subjects to live and inhabit  
 1598. in this Kingdom, and Countries under his Obe-  
 Pope Cle-  
 ment VIII dience, shall remain in force, and shall be ob-  
 serv'd according to the Form and Tenor there-  
 of: Even for Ministers and Teachers, and all  
 others that are, or shall turn of the said Re-  
 ligion, whether actual Inhabitants or others,  
 behaving themselves in all other Things con-  
 formably to what is specify'd by the said Edict.

II. Those of the said Religion shall not be  
 oblig'd to contribute towards the Reparations,  
 and building of Churches, Chapels, Parsonages,  
 nor towards the buying of sacerdotal Orna-  
 ments, Lights, Casting of Bells, Holy Bread,  
 Rights of Fraternity, and other like things, un-  
 less oblig'd thereunto by Foundations, Gifts, or  
 other Dispositions made by them or their Pre-  
 decessors.

III. Neither shall they be oblig'd to hang  
 and adorn the Front of their Houses on Festi-  
 val-Days, on which it is order'd ; but only to  
 suffer them to be hung and adorn'd by the Au-  
 thority of the Magistrates, without Contribu-  
 ting any thing towards it.

IV. Neither shall those of the said Religion  
 be oblig'd to receive Exhortations, being sick,  
 or near Death, either by Condemnation of Jus-  
 tice, or otherwise, from any but those of the  
 said Religion ; and their Ministers shall be al-  
 low'd to visit and comfort them without any  
 Disturbance : And, as for such as shall be con-  
 demn'd by Justice, it shall also be lawful for the  
 said Ministers to visit and prepare them for  
 Death, without making publick Prayers, un-  
 less in such Places as are allow'd by the said  
 Edict for the said Publick Exercise.

V. It shall be lawful for those of the said  
 Religion, to perform the Publick Exercise there-  
 of

of at *Pimpoul*; and for *Diepe*, in the Suburb Henry IV.  
*du Paulet* and the said Places of *Pimpoul* and 1598.  
*du Paulet*, shall be ordain'd for Places of Baili- Pope Cle-  
wicks. The said Exercise shall be continued at ment VIII  
*Sancerre*, as it is at present; the said free and  
publick Exercise shall also be re-establish'd in  
the City of *Montagnac* in *Languedoc*.

VI. In respect to the Article which relates to  
Bailiwicks, it has been declar'd and granted, as  
followeth; First, For the establishing of the  
Exercise of the said Religion, in the two Places  
granted in every Bailiwick, Seneschalship, and  
Government, those of the said Religion shall  
nominate two Cities, in the Suburbs of which  
the said Exercise shall be establish'd by the  
Commissioners that shall be deputed by his  
Majesty for the Execution of the Edict. And  
in case the said Commissioners should not ap-  
prove of them, those of the said Religion shall  
nominate two or three Towns or Villages in the  
Neighbourhood of the said Cities, for every one  
of them, out of which the said Commissioners  
shall chuse one. And if through Hostility,  
Contagion, or any other lawful Impediment,  
it cannot be continued in the said Places, others  
shall be allow'd while the said Impediment shall  
continue. Secondly, That only two Cities shall  
be provided in the Government of *Picardy*, into  
the Suburbs of which, those of the said Religi-  
on shall be allow'd the Exercise thereof for all  
the Bailiwicks, Seneschalships, and Govern-  
ments depending of the same; and where it  
shall not be thought fit to establish it in the  
said Cities, they shall be allow'd two convenient  
Towns or Villages. Thirdly, By reason of the  
great Extent of the Seneschalship of *Provence*,  
and Bailiwicks of *Viennois*, his Majesty does  
grant a third Place in each of the said Bailiwicks

Henry IV. and Seneschalships, the Choice and Nomination  
 of which shall be made as above-said, there to  
 1598.  
 Pope Cle- establish the Exercise of the said Religion, be-  
 ment VIII  
 besides the other Places in which it is already  
 establish'd.

VII. What has been granted by the said Article for the Exercise of the said Religion in Bailiwicks, shall also serve for the Territories which did belong to the late Queen Mother-in-Law to his Majesty, and for the Bailiwick of *Beaujolois*.

VIII. Besides the two Places granted for the Exercise of the said Religion, by the particular Articles of the Year 1577, in the Isles of *Marrennes* and *Oleron*, two more shall be allow'd them, for the Convenience of the said Inhabitants; viz. one for all the Isles of *Marrennes*, and another for the Isle of *Oleron*.

IX. The Letters-Patent granted by his Majesty, for the Exercise of the said Religion in the City of *Mets* shall remain in full Force, and Virtue.

X. It is his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, That the 27th Article of his Edict, relating to the Admission of those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion into Offices and Dignities, shall be observ'd and maintain'd according to its Form and Tenor, the Edicts and Agreements heretofore made for the Reduction of some Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and Catholick Cities notwithstanding; the which shall not be in force to the prejudice of those of the said Religion, only in what relates to the Exercise thereof. And the said Exercise shall be regulated according as it is specify'd by the following Articles, according to which shall be drawn the Instructions of the Commissioners that shall be deputed by his Majesty for the Execution of his

his Edict, according as it is ordain'd by the <sup>Henry IV.</sup> same. <sup>1598.</sup>

XI. According to the Edict made by his <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> Majesty for the Reduction of the Duke of <sup>ment VIII</sup> *Guise*, the Exercise of the said Pretended Reformed Religion shall neither be allow'd, nor establish'd in the Cities and Suburbs of *Rheims*, *Rocroy*, *St. Disier*, *Guise*, *Joinville*, *Fimes*, and *Moncornet* in the *Ardennes*.

XII. Neither shall it be allow'd in the other Places adjacent to the said Cities, and Places forbidden by the Edict of the Year 1577.

XIII. And to remove the Ambiguity that might arise upon the word Adjacent, his Majesty declares, that he means the Places that are within the Circuit of a League of the said Cities, being the Precinct, or Liberties thereof, in which Places the Exercise of the said Religion shall not be allow'd, unless it were permitted by the Edict of 1577.

XIV. And forasmuch as by the same, the said Exercise was allow'd generally in the Fiefs possess'd by those of the said Religion, without any Exception of the said League's Circuit; his Majesty declares, That the said Allowance shall remain in force even for Fiefs within the said Circuit, possess'd by those of the said Religion, as it is specify'd by his Edict, given at *Nantes*.

XV. Likewise, according to the Edict made for the Reduction of the Marshal *de la Chartres*, in each of the Bailiwicks of *Orleans* and *Bourges*, shall only be ordain'd one Place of Bailiwick for the Exercise of the said Religion, the which however may be continu'd in such Places where the Continuation thereof is allow'd by the said Edict of *Nantes*.

XVI.

Henry IV. XVI. The Concession of Preaching in Fiefs, shall also extend to the said Bailiwicks, in the manner specify'd by the said Edict of *Nantes*.

1598.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

XVII. The Edict made for the Reduction of the Marshal of *Bois-Dauphin*, shall also be observ'd ; and the said Exercise shall not be allow'd in the Cities, Suburbs, and Places brought over by him to his Majesty's Service ; and as for the Circuit, or Liberties thereof, the Edict of 1577, shall be observ'd there, even in the Houses of Fiefs, according as it is specify'd by the Edict of *Nantes*.

XVIII. No Exercise of the said Religion shall be allow'd in the City, Suburbs, and Castle of *Morlais*, according to the Edicts made for the Reduction of the said City, and the Edict of 1577 shall be observ'd for the Precinct thereof, according to the Edict of *Nantes*.

XIX. In consequence of the Edict for the Reduction of *Quinpercorantin*, no Exercise of the said Religion shall be allow'd in all the Bishoprick of *Cornouaille*.

XX. Also according to the Edict made for the Reduction of *Beauvais*, the Exercise of the said Religion shall not be allow'd in the said City of *Beauvais*, nor within three Leagues round about it. Nevertheless, the establishing thereof shall be allow'd in the Remainder of the Extent of the Bailiwick, in the Places allow'd of by the Edict of 1577. Even in Houses of Fiefs, according to the Edict of *Nantes*.

XXI. And whereas the Edict made for the Reduction of the late Admiral *de Villars*, is only provisional, and until the King's farther Pleasure, it is his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, the said Edict notwithstanding, that his Edict of *Nantes* shall remain in force for the Cities

and

and Jurisdictions reduced to his Majesty's Obedience by the said Admiral, as well as for the other Parts of his Kingdom.

Henry IV.  
1598.  
Pope Clement VIII

XXII. By the Edict made for the Reduction of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the Exercise of the said Religion shall not be allow'd in the City or Suburbs of *Tboulouse*, nor within four Leagues about it, nor nearer than the Cities of *Villemur*, *Carmain*, and the Isle of *Fourdan*.

XXIII. Neither shall it be restored into the Cities of *Alet*, *Fiac*, *Auriac*, and *Montesquiou*: Nevertheless, in case any of the said Religion in the said City should be desirous to have a Place for the Exercise thereof, the Commissioners that shall be deputed by his Majesty for the Execution of his Edict, shall assign them, for every one of the said Cities, a convenient Place and of easy Access, within a League of the said Cities.

XXIV. It shall be lawful to establish the said Exercise, according as it is specify'd by the said Edict of *Nantes*, within the Jurisdiction of the Court of Parliament of *Tboulouse*, excepted always in such Bailiwicks, Seneschalships, and other Precincts, of which the principal Seats shall have been restor'd to his Majesty's Obedience by the said Duke of *Joyeuse*, in which the Edict of 1577, shall take place. Nevertheless, his Majesty means that the said Exercise shall be continued in such Places of the said Bailiwicks and Seneschalships, where it was performed at the time of the said Reduction; and that the Concession thereof in Houses of Fiefs, shall remain in force in the said Bailiwicks, and Seneschalships, according as it is specify'd by the said Edict.

XXV. The Edict made for the Reduction of the City of *Dijon* shall be observed, according

ing



Henry IV. ing to which, no other Exercise of Religion  
 1598. shall be allowed in the said City than that of  
 Pope Cle- the *Roman Catholick Apostolick Church*, nor  
 ment VIII yet within the Suburbs thereof, nor within four  
 Leagues round about it.

XXVI. The Edict made for the Reduction of the Duke of *Mayenne*, shall in like manner be observed ; according to which the Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion shall not be allowed in the City of *Châlons*, nor within two Leagues round about *Soissons*, during the Term of Six Years, to begin from the Month of *January* 1596, after which the Edict of *Nantes* shall be observed there, as in the other Parts of the Kingdom.

XXVII. It shall be lawful for those of the said Religion, of what Quality soever, to inhabit, and to have free Egress and Regress into the City of *Lyons*, and other Towns and Places of the Government of *Lyonnois*; all Prohibitions made to the contrary by the Syndics, and Sheriffs of the said City of *Lyons*, tho' confirm'd by his Majesty, notwithstanding.

XXVIII. Only one Place of Bailiwick shall be allow'd for the Exercise of the said Religion in the whole Seneschalship of *Poitiers*, besides those where it is already establish'd ; and as to the Fiefs, the Edict of *Nantes* shall be observed. The said Exercise shall also be continued in the City of *Chauvigny* : But it shall not be restored in the Cities of *Agen*, and *Perrigueux*, altho' it was allowed by the Edict of 1577.

XXIX. Only two Places of Bailiwicks shall be allow'd for the Exercise of the said Religion, in all the Government of *Picardy* as above said, neither shall the said two Places be allow'd within the Precincts of the Bailiwicks and Governments,

vernments, reserved by the Edicts made for the <sup>Henry IV.</sup> Reduction of *Amiens*, *Peronne* and *Abbeville*. <sup>1598.</sup> Nevertheless, the said Exercise shall be allow'd <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> in Houses of Fiefs throughout the whole Go- <sup>ment VIII</sup> vernment of *Picardy*, according to what is specify'd by the said Edict of *Nantes*.

XXX. The Exercise of the said Religion shall not be allow'd in the Cities and Suburbs of *Sens*; and only one Place of Bailiwick shall be granted in the whole Precinct of the Bailiwick, but still without prejudice to the Permission granted for Houses of Fiefs, which shall remain in force, according to the Edict of *Nantes*.

XXXI. Neither shall the said Exercise be allow'd in the City nor Suburbs of *Nantes*, nor any Place of Bailiwicks be granted for the said Exercise within three Leagues round about the said City: Nevertheless it shall be allowed in Houses of Fiefs, according to the said Edict of *Nantes*.

XXXII. It is his said Majesty's Will and Pleasure, that his said Edict of *Nantes* shall be observed from this very time, in what relates to the Exercise of the said Religion, in such Places where by the Edicts and Agreements made for the Reduction of some Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and Catholick Cities, it was prohibited only provisionally, and until it was otherwise ordained. And as for such where the said Prohibition is limited to a certain time, that time being expired, it shall be no longer in force.

XXXIII. A Place shall be allowed to those of the said Religion for the City, Provostship, and Vice-County of *Paris*, within five Leagues at farthest from the said City, in which they shall be allowed the Exercise of the said Religion.

XXXIV.

Henry IV. XXXIV. In all such Places where the Exercise of the said Religion shall be performed publicly, it shall be lawful to assemble the People, even by the Sound of Bells, and to perform all Acts and Functions belonging either to the Exercise of the said Religion, or to the Regulation of their Discipline, as to hold Consistories or Vestries, Colloquies, and Provincial and National Synods by his Majesty's Leave.

1598.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

XXXV. The Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the said Religion, shall not be obliged to appear as Witnesses, and to answer in Justice, for things that shall have been revealed in their Consistories, in the Case of Censures, unless it were about Matters relating to the King's Person, or towards the Preservation of the State.

XXXVI. Such of the said Religion as live in the Country, shall be allowed to assist at the Exercise thereof in the Cities and Suburbs, and other Places where it shall be publicly establish'd.

XXXVII. Those of the said Religion shall not be allowed to keep publick Schools, unless in such Towns and Places where the publick Exercise thereof is allowed: And the Patents that have been granted them heretofore for the erecting and maintaining of Colleges, shall be verify'd if necessary, and shall remain in full force and vigor.

XXXVIII. It shall be lawful for Fathers professing the said Religion, to provide such Teachers for their Children as they shall think fit, and to substitute one, or several by Will, or other Declaration pass'd before a Notary, or written or sign'd by their own Hands, the Laws received in this Kingdom, Ordinances  
and

and Customs of Places remaining in full force Henry IV.  
and virtue, as to the Gifts and Provisions of 1598.  
Tutors and Guardians. *Pope Cle-  
ment VIII*

XXXIX. As for the Marriage of Priests, and other Religious Persons, that have been heretofore contracted, his Majesty for divers good Considerations, will not allow their being prosecuted or molested for the same; upon which Subject, Silence shall be imposed to his Attorneys-General and other Officers. Nevertheless his Majesty declares, that the Children proceeding from the said Marriages shall only succeed to the Personal Estates, and Acquisitions made by their Fathers and Mothers, and in default of the said Children, the nearest Relations at Law: And the Wills, Gifts, and other Dispositions made, or to be made, by Persons of the said Quality, of the said Personal Estates and Acquisitions by them made, are hereby declared good and lawful. Nevertheless, his said Majesty will not allow that the said Persons having been admitted into Religious Orders, should be capable of any direct or collateral Succession; but only shall be allowed to take such Estates as shall be left them by Will, or Gift, or other Dispositions, still excepting those of the said direct and collateral Successions; and as to those who shall have taken Religious Orders before the Age mentioned by the Ordinances of Orleans or Blois, shall be followed and observed, in what relates to the said Succession, the Tenor of the said Ordinances, every one for the time they have been in force.

XL. Neither will his said Majesty allow those of the said Religion, who have heretofore, or shall hereafter contract Marriages in the third or fourth Degree, to be prosecuted or molested for the same; neither shall the Validity

Henry IV. dity of the said Marriages be questioned, nor  
 1598. the Succession taken from, or disputed against  
 Pope Cle- the Children born, or to be born of the same:  
 ment VIII

And as to the Marriages that might already be contracted in the second Degree, or from the second to the third, between those of the said Religion, the said Persons applying themselves to his said Majesty, such Letters-Patent as shall be necessary shall be granted them, to the end that they may neither be prosecuted nor molested for the same, nor the Succession disputed to their Children.

XLII. The Validity and Lawfulness of the said Marriages thus made and contracted, shall be judg'd, the Defendant being of the said Religion, before the Judge Royal: But in case of his being Plaintiff, and the Defendant a Catholic, the Cognizance thereof shall belong to the Official and Ecclesiastical Judge; and both Parties being of the said Religion, the Case shall be try'd before the Judges Royal: His Majesty willing that the said Marriages, and the Differences arising from the same, should be judg'd respectively by the Judges Ecclesiastical and Royal, and by the Chambers establish'd by his Edicts.

XLII. The Gifts and Legacies made, or to be made, whether by Will, in case of Death, or among the Living, for the Maintenance of Ministers, Doctors, Scholars, and Poor of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, and upon other pious Accounts, shall be of full force and Power, all Judgments and Decrees to the contrary notwithstanding; but yet without Prejudice to his Majesty's Rights, and others, in case the said Legacies and Gifts should fall into Dead hands: And all necessary Actions and Prosecutions for the Recovery of the said Legacies,

ies, pious Gifts, and other Rights of all Henry IV.  
 ls, shall be allow'd to be made by an Attor- 1598.  
 in the Name of the Body and Corporation Pope Cle-  
 of the said Religion who shall be con- ment VIII  
 d ; and in case it happens that any of the  
 Gifts and Legacies have been heretofore  
 s'd of, otherwise than is specify'd by the  
 Article, no other Restitution shall be de-  
 ded, but what shall be found in being.

LIII. His said Majesty permits those of  
 said Religion to assemble before the Judge  
 al, and by his Authority to assess and raise  
 ing themselves such Sums as shall be judg'd  
 lary to be employ'd towards the Charges  
 eir Synods, and for the Maintenance of  
 who are employ'd for the Exercise of  
 said Religion, of which the true Estimate  
 be given to the said Judge Royal, to be  
 by him : The Copy of which shall be  
 every six Months by the said Judges Roy-  
 his Majesty, or to his Chancellor, and the  
 Taxes and Impositions shall be liable to  
 ution, all Oppositions or Appeals to the  
 ary notwithstanding.

LIV. The Ministers of the said Religion  
 be exempted from Watching, and from  
 tering of Soldiers ; assessing and collecting  
 illes, or Subsidies ; as also from Ward-  
 and Guardianships, and Commissions for  
 eeping of Estates seiz'd by Authority of  
 e.

LV. Those of the said Religion shall be  
 r prosecuted nor disturb'd for the Burials  
 ore made by them in the Church-yards  
 e said Catholicks, in any Place or City  
 ver, and his Majesty shall order his Offi-  
 o take care of the same. As to the City  
 ris, over and above the two Church-  
 OL. IV. S yards,

Henry IV. yards, those of the same Religion possess there  
 1598. already, viz. that of *Trinity*, and that of *St.*  
 Pope Cle- *Germain*, a third convenient Place shall be al-  
 ment VIII low'd them for the said Burials in the Suburbs  
 of *St. Honore*, or *St. Denis*.

XLVI. The Catholick Presidents and Counsellors that shall serve in the Chamber ordain'd in the Parliament of *Paris*, shall be chosen by his Majesty upon the Roll of the Officers of the Parliament.

XLVII. The Counsellors of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, who shall serve in the said Chamber, shall assist, if they think fit, at such Processes as shall be decided by Commissioners, and shall have a deliberate Vote in the same, but shall have no Share of the consign'd Money, unless they ought to assist at them by the Order and Prerogative of their Reception.

XLVIII. The senior President of the Mixt-Chambers shall preside at the Audience, and in his Absence the second; and the Distribution of Suits shall be made by the two Presidents jointly or alternately, monthly, or weekly.

XLIX. A Vacation of Offices happening, in Possession of, or to be possess'd by those of the said Religion in the said Chambers of the Edict, they shall be given to capable Persons, having Attestations from the Synod, or Colloquy, to which they do belong, of their being of the said Religion and Persons of Integrity.

L. The Pardon granted to those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, by the 74<sup>th</sup> Article of the said Edict, shall stand good for the taking of the Money belonging to the Crown, either by breaking of Coffers, or otherwise, even in respect to that which was rais'd upon  
 the

the River *Charante*, tho' assign'd to particular Persons Henry IV.  
1598.

LI. The 49th of the secret Articles, made in the Year 1577, concerning the City and Archbishoprick of *Avignon*; and County thereof, together with the Treaty made at *Nimes*, shall be observ'd according to their Form and Tenor; and no Letters of Mart shall be granted by virtue of the said Articles and Treaty, unless by Letters-Patent from the King, under the Great-Seal. Nevertheless, such as shall be desirous to obtain the same, shall be allow'd by virtue of this present Article; without any other Commission, to make their Application to the Judges Royal, who shall examine the Transgressions, Denial of Justice, and Iniquity of the Judgments, propos'd by those who shall be desirous to obtain the said Letters, and shall send the same, together with their Opinions, seal'd up close, to his Majesty, in order to his ordering the said Matter according to reason. Pope Clement VIII  
1598.

LII. His Majesty grants and wills, that Mr. *Nicholas Grimoult* shall be re-establish'd and maintain'd in the Title and Possession of the Offices of Ancient Lieutenant-General Civil, and Lieutenant-General Criminal, in the Bailiwick of *Alençon*; notwithstanding the Resignation [by him made to *John Marguerit*, his Reception, and the Patent obtain'd by *William Bernard*, of the Office of Lieutenant-General Civil and Criminal in the Tribunal of *Exmes*: The Decrees given against the said *Marguerit*, resigned during the Troubles in the Privy-Council, in the Years 1586, 87, and 88, by which *Nicholas Barbier* is settled in the Rights and Prerogatives of Ancient Lieutenant-General in the said Bailiwick, and the said *Bernard*, in the Office of Lieutenant at *Exmes*, the which



Henry IV. his Majesty has nullify'd, and all others here-  
 unto contrary. Moreover, his Majesty, for  
 1598.  
 Pope Cle-  
 ment VIII certain good Considerations, has granted and  
 ordained, that the said *Grimoult* shall, within  
 the Space of three Months, reimburse the said  
*Barbier* the Money by him furnish'd or dis-  
 burs'd for the said Office of Lieutenant-General  
 Civil and Criminal, in the Vice-County of  
*Alençon*, and fifty Crowns for the Charges:  
 And the said Reimbursement being made, or the  
 said *Barbier* refusing, or delaying to receive it;  
 his Majesty forbids the said *Barbier*, as also the  
 said *Bernard*, after the Signification of this pre-  
 sent Article, any more to exercise the said Of-  
 fices, on pain of the Crime of Falsity, and sends  
 the said *Grimoult* to the Injoyment of the said  
 Offices and Rights thereunto belonging: And  
 in so doing, the Processes which were depend-  
 ing between the said *Grimoult*, *Barbier*, and  
*Bernard*, in his Majesty's Privy-Council, shall  
 remain determin'd, and lie dormant, his said  
 Majesty forbidding the Parliaments, and all  
 others to take Cognizance thereof, and the said  
 Parties to make any Prosecutions for the same.  
 Moreover, his Majesty has taken upon himself  
 to reimburse the said *Bernard*, the Sum of a  
 thousand Crowns, paid for the said Office, and  
 sixty Crowns for the Mark of Gold, and Char-  
 ges; having to that end, already order'd a good  
 and sufficient Assignment, the Recovery of  
 which shall be made at the Suit and Charge of  
 the said *Grimoult*.

LIII. His said Majesty shall write to his  
 Ambassadors to obtain for all his Subjects, even  
 for those of the said Pretended Reformed Re-  
 ligion, that they may not be disturb'd as to  
 their Consciences, nor be subject to the Inqui-  
 sition, going or coming, sojourning and trading  
 through-

throughout all foreign Countries, in Alliance <sup>Henry IV.</sup> and Confederacy with this Crown, provided <sup>1598.</sup> they do not offend the Civil Government of <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> the Countries where they shall be. <sup>ment VIII</sup>

LIV. His Majesty forbids any Prosecution for the gathering and receiving of the Impositions that have been levy'd at *Royan*, by virtue of the Contract made with the *Sieur de Candelay*, and others, made in Continuation of the same; making the said Contract valid, and approving it for the time it has been in force, in the whole Extent of it, until the 8th of *May*, next ensuing.

LV. The Excesses committed against *Armand Courtines*, in the City of *Millaut*, in the Year 1587, and *John Reines*, and *Peter Seignuret*; together with the Proceedings made between them by the Consuls of the *said Millaut*, shall remain abolish'd, and shall lie dormant by the Benefit of the Edict; and it shall not be lawful for their Widows and Heirs, nor his Majesty's Attorneys-General, their Substitutes, or other Persons whatever, to mention the same, or to make any Inquiry or Prosecution about it: Notwithstanding, and without regard to the Decree given in the Chamber of *Castres*, on the 10th of *March* last, the which shall remain null, and without effect, together with all Proceedings and Informations made on either side.

LVI. All Prosecutions, Proceedings, Sentences, Judgments and Decrees, given either against the late *Sieur de la Noüe*, or against his Son *Odet de la Noüe*, since their Detention and Imprisonment in *Flanders*, which happen'd in the Month of *May* 1580, and *November* 1584, and during their continual Occupation in the Wars and Service of his Majesty, shall remain annihilated and nullify'd, and whatever has fol-

Done by the King, being in his Council  
*Nantes*, the 2d of *May* 1598.

Sign'd

*H E*

And lower,

*F O R*

And seal'd with the Great-Seal of  
Wax.

**H**ENRY, by the Grace of God, King of  
*France* and *Navarre*, To our Trusty  
Well-beloved the Persons holding our  
Parliament at *Paris*, Greeting. In the  
month of *April* last past, we caused our Lett  
Edict to be expedited, for the Establisshment  
of a good Order and Repose among  
Catholick Subjects, and those of the  
tended Reformed Religion: And we  
moreover granted to those of the said  
certain secret and particular Articles, which  
will have to be of equal force and power  
to be observ'd and accomplish'd in the  
manner as our said Edict. To this effect  
will, and most expressly order and command  
you by these Presents To cause the same

Edict; ceasing, and causing all Troubles and Henry IV.  
Impediments thereunto contrary to cease. For <sup>1598.</sup>  
such is our Pleasure. *Pope Clement VIII*

Given at *Nantes*, the 2d of *May*, in the Year  
of our Lord 1598, and of our Reign the  
Ninth.

Sign'd by the King.

FORGET.

And seal'd upon single Labels of yellow  
Wax.

*Brief granted by Henry the Great, to his Sub-  
jects of the Pretended Reformed Religion on  
the 30th of April, 1598.*

**T**HIS third of *April*, 1598, the King being  
at *Nantes*, and being willing to gratify his  
Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion,  
and to help them to supply many great Expen-  
ces they are oblig'd to undergo, has ordain'd, that  
for the future, to begin from the first Day of this  
present Month, shall be put into the hands of  
*Mr De Vierse*, commission'd by his Majesty to  
that end, by the Treasurers of his Exchequer,  
every one in his Year, Rescriptions to the Sum of  
45,000 Crowns to be imploy'd in certain secret  
Affairs relating to them, which his Majesty does  
neither think fit to specify, or declare: The which  
Sum of 45,000 Crowns, shall be assign'd upon  
the general Receipts as followeth; *viz.* *Paris*  
5000 Crowns; *Rouen* 6000 Crowns; *Caen* 3000  
Crowns; *Orleans* 4000 Crowns; *Tours* 4000  
Crowns; *Poitiers* 8000 Crowns; *Limoges* 6000  
Crowns; *Bordeaux* 8000 Crowns; the whole  
together amounting to the aforesaid Sum of  
45,000 Crowns; payable at the four Quarters  
of the said Year, out of the first and clearest  
Money of the said General Receipts; out of  
which nothing shall be retrench'd, or put off,

Henry IV. upon any account whatever. For which Sum  
 1598. of 45,000 Crowns, he shall cause Acquittances  
 Pope Cle- to be deliver'd into the hands of the Treasurer  
 ment VIII of his Exchequer, for his Discharge, in giving  
 the said Rescriptions intire for the said Sum of  
 45,000 Crowns, upon the said Generalities, at  
 the Beginning of every Year. And where, for  
 the Convenience of the abovesad, it shall be re-  
 quir'd to cause part of the said Assignations to  
 be paid in particular Receipts establish'd; the  
 Treasurers-General of *France*, and Receivers-  
 General of the said Generalities shall be order'd  
 to do it in Deduction of the said Rescriptions of  
 the said Treasurers of the Exchequer; the  
 which shall be afterwards deliver'd by the said  
*Sieur de Vierse*, to such as shall be nominated  
 by those of the said Religion at the Beginning  
 of the Year for the receipt and laying out of  
 the Money to be receiv'd by virtue thereof;  
 of which they shall be oblig'd to bring a par-  
 ticular Account to the said *Sieur de Vierse* at  
 the End of the Year, with the Acquittance  
 of the Parties, to inform his Majesty with the  
 laying out of the said Money: For which, nei-  
 ther the said *Sieur de Vierse*, nor those that  
 shall be employ'd by those of the said Religion,  
 shall be oblig'd to give any Account in any of  
 the Chambers; For all which, and whatever  
 may depend thereon, his Majesty has com-  
 manded all necessary Letters-Patent to be ex-  
 pedited by virtue of this present Brief, sign'd  
 by his own Hand, and countersign'd by us,  
 Counsellor in his Council of State, and Secre-  
 tary of his Commands.

Sign'd,

HENRY.

And lower,

DE NEUFVILLE.

This

**T**HIS last Day of *April* 1598, the King be-  
 ing at *Nantes*, and being very desirous to  
 afford all manner of Satisfaction to his Subjects  
 of the Pretended Reformed Religion, upon the  
 Petitions and Requests he has received from  
 them, about such things as they think necessary  
 for the Liberty of their Consciences, and for the  
 Security of their Persons, Fortunes and Estates;  
 And his Majesty being convinced of their Fi-  
 delity, and sincere Affection for his Service; as  
 also for divers other important Considerations  
 relating to the Quiet and Welfare of this State,  
 him thereunto moving; his said Majesty, be-  
 sides what is contain'd in the Edict, which he  
 has lately made, and is to be publish'd for the  
 Regulation of what relates to them, has granted  
 and promised them, that all the Places, Towns  
 and Castles they held until the End of *August*  
 last past, in which Garisons are to be kept, by  
 the Settlement that shall be made about it, and  
 sign'd by his Majesty, shall remain in their  
 keeping under the Authority and Obedience  
 of his said Majesty for the Term of eight  
 Years, to begin from the Day of the Publi-  
 cation of the said Edict. And as for the  
 others which they hold, in which there are to  
 be no Garisons, there shall be no Alteration  
 or Innovation made. Nevertheless, his said  
 Majesty does not mean that the Cities and  
 Castles of *Vendome* and *Pontorson* should be  
 compris'd in the Number of the said Places  
 left in keeping to those of the said Religion.  
 Neither shall the City, Castle and Citadel of  
*Aubenas* be comprised in the said Number,  
 which his Majesty will dispose of at his own  
 Pleasure; and tho' it were into the hands of  
 one of the said Religion, it shall be no Pre-  
 cedent for the future, like the other Cities that  
 are

Henry IV.  
 1598.  
 Pope Cle-  
 ment VIII

Henry IV. are granted unto them. And as for *Chauvigny*,  
 1598. it shall be restored to the Bishop of *Poitiers*,  
 Pope Clement VIII Lord of the said Place, and the new Fortifica-  
 tions made there, raz'd and demolish'd. And  
 for the maintaining of the Garisons that shall  
 be kept in the said Towns, Places and Castles,  
 his said Majesty has granted them the Sum of  
 180,000 Crowns, without including those of  
 the Province of *Dauphiné* into the said Number,  
 for which other provision shall be made, be-  
 sides the said Sum of 180,000 Crowns yearly.  
 And his said Majesty promises and assures  
 them, that he will give them good and valuable  
 Assignations for the same, upon the clearest  
 Part of his Revenue, in such Places where the  
 said Garisons shall be establish'd. And in case  
 the said Revenues should not be sufficient, the  
 Remainder shall be paid them out of the nearest  
 Places of Receipt; neither shall the said Re-  
 venues be employ'd to any other use, until the  
 said Sum is intirely furnished and acquitted.  
 Moreover, his said Majesty has promised and  
 granted them, that he will call, at the mak-  
 ing and establishing of the Settlements of the  
 said Garisons, some Persons of the said Reli-  
 gion, to take their Advice, and hear their Re-  
 monstrances about it; which shall be done, as  
 much as possible can be, to their Satisfaction.  
 And in case, during the said Term of eight  
 Years, there should happen any Necessity to  
 alter any thing about the said Settlement; whe-  
 ther it shall be thought fit by his Majesty, or  
 at their Request, it shall be done in the said  
 Manner, as it shall be resolved upon the first  
 time. And as to the Garisons of *Dauphiné*,  
 his Majesty shall take the Advice of the *Sieur*  
*de Lesdiguières* about the Settlement thereof.  
 And in case of Vacancies of some Governors  
 and

and Captains of the said Places, his Majesty Henry IV. also promises and grants to them, that he will <sup>1598.</sup> put none in their room, but such as shall be <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, hav- <sup>ment VIII</sup> ing Attestations from the Colloquy where they reside, of their being of the said Religion, and Persons of Integrity. And it shall be sufficient for the Person who shall be invested of the same, upon the Brief that shall have been expedited about it, before his receiving his Letters-Patent, to produce the Attestation of the said Colloquy as abovesaid; the which, those of the said Colloquy shall be oblig'd to give him speedily without Delays; or in case of Refusal, shall acquaint his Majesty, with the Reasons them thereunto moving. And the said Term of eight Years being expired, altho' he shall then be acquitted of his Promise in relation to the said Cities; nevertheless, he has moreover granted and promised them, that in case he shall think fit, after the said Time, to keep Garisons in the same, or to leave a Governor to command there, he will not dispossess the Person then being in possession of the same, to put another in his room. He also declares, that it is his Intention, both during the said eight Years, as well as after it, to gratify those of the said Religion, and to give them a Share of the Employments, Governments, and other Honours, he shall have to dispose of, indifferently and without any Exception, according to the Quality and Merit of the Persons, as among his other Catholick Subjects: Yet nevertheless, without being obliged for the future, particularly to bestow the Cities and Places thus committed to them therein to command, to Persons of the said Religion. Moreover, his said Majesty has also granted them, That those



Henry IV. that have been imploy'd by those of the  
 1598. said Religion for the keeping of the Stores,  
*Pope Cle-* Ammunition, Powder, and Cannon of the  
*ment VIII* said Cities, and such as shall be left in keep-  
 ing to them, shall be continued in the said Im-  
 ployments, taking Commissions from the Ma-  
 sters of the Ordnance, and Commissary-General  
 of the Provisions. Which Commissions shall  
 be expedited gratis, they delivering unto them  
 a particular Account of the said Magazines,  
 Ammunition, Powder and Cannon, sign'd in  
 due Form; yet they shall not be allow'd to  
 pretend to any Immunities or Privileges upon  
 the account of the said Commissions. Never-  
 theless they shall be imploy'd upon the Settle-  
 ment that shall be made about the said Ga-  
 risons, and shall receive their Salaries out of  
 the Sums above-granted by his Majesty, for the  
 Maintenance of their Garisons, for which his  
 Majesty's other Revenues shall no wise be  
 charged. And whereas, those of the said Re-  
 ligion have intreated his Majesty, to acquaint  
 them with what he has been pleased to order  
 about the Exercise of the same in the City of  
*Metz*, by reason that it is not sufficiently ex-  
 plained, and comprised in his Edict and secret  
 Articles; his Majesty declares, that he has or-  
 dered Letters-Patent to be drawn, by which it  
 is declar'd, That the Temple heretofore built  
 in the said City by the Inhabitants thereof,  
 shall be restor'd unto them, to make use of the  
 Materials, and to dispose of them as they shall  
 think fit; but they shall not be allowed to  
 preach in it, nor perform any Exercise of their  
 Religion: Nevertheless, a convenient Place  
 shall be provided for them within the Enclosure  
 of the said City, where they shall be allowed  
 to perform the said Exercise publickly, with-  
 out

out any Necessity of expressing it by his Edict. Henry IV. His Majesty also grants, that notwithstanding <sup>1598.</sup> the Prohibition made of the Exercise of the <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> said Religion at the Court, and Dependance <sup>ment VIII</sup> thereof, the Dukes, Peers of *France*, Officers of the Crown, Marquisses, Counts, Governors and Lieutenants-General, Marshals of Camp, and Captains of his said Majesty's Guards, who shall be in his Attendance, shall not be molested for what they shall do within their Houses, provided it be only for their own particular Families, their Doors being shut, without singing of Psalms with a loud Voice, or doing any thing that might discover it to be a Publick Exercise of the said Religion; and in case his said Majesty shall remain above three Days in any Town or Place, where the said Exercise is allowed, the said Time being expired, the said Exercise shall be continued as before his Arrival. His said Majesty also declares, That by reason of the present State of his Affairs, he has not been able at present to include the Countries on the other side of the Mounts *Bresse* and *Barcelona*, in the Permission by him granted for the Exercise of the said Pretended Reformed Religion: Nevertheless, his Majesty promises, That when his said Countries shall be reduced under his Obedience, he will use his Subjects inhabiting in the same, in relation to Religion, and other Points granted by his Edict, like his other Subjects, notwithstanding what is contain'd in the said Edicts; and in the mean time they shall be maintained in the same Condition they are in at present. His Majesty also grants, That those of the Pretended Reformed Religion that are to be provided with Offices of Presidents and Counsellors created to serve in the Chambers ordained a-new  
by

Henry IV. his Edict, shall be invested with the said Offices  
<sup>1598.</sup>  
*Pope Cle-* gratis, and without paying any Fees for the  
*ment VIII* first Time, upon the Roll that shall be pre-  
 sented to his Majesty, by the Deputies of the  
 Assembly of *Chatelleraud*; as also the Substi-  
 tutes of the Attorneys and Advocates-General,  
 erected by the said Edict in the Chamber of  
*Bordeaux*: And in case of an Incorporation of  
 the said Chamber of *Bordeaux*, and that of  
*Toulouse*, into the said Parliaments, the said  
 Substitutes shall be provided with Counsellors'  
 Places in the same also gratis. His Majesty  
 will also bestow on Monsieur *Francis Pitou*,  
 the Office of Substitute to the Attorney-General  
 in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*; and to  
 that end a new Election shall be made of the  
 said Office; and after the Decease of the said  
*Pitou*, it shall be given to a Person of the said  
 Pretended Reformed Religion. And in case of  
 Vacation by Death, of two Offices of Masters of  
 Request of the King's Hostel, his Majesty shall  
 bestow them on Persons of the said Pretended  
 Reformed Religion, such as his Majesty shall  
 judge fit and capable for the good of his Service;  
 they paying the usual Price of the Sale of the  
 said Offices. And in the mean time, two  
 Masters of Request shall be appointed in every  
 Quarter to make Report of the Petitions of  
 those of the said Religion. Moreover, his  
 Majesty permits the Deputies of the said Re-  
 ligion assembled in the said City of *Chatelle-*  
*raud*, to remain in a Body to the Number of  
 ten in the City of *Saumur*, to prosecute the  
 Execution of his Edict, until his said Edict is  
 verify'd in his Court of Parliament of *Paris*;  
 notwithstanding their being injoin'd by the  
 said Edict, to separate immediately: Yet never-  
 theless, without their being allowed to make  
 any

by new Demands in the Name of the said Henry IV.  
 Assembly, or to meddle with any thing besides <sup>1598.</sup>  
 the said Execution, Deputation, and Dispatch <sup>Pope Cle-</sup>  
 the Commissioners who shall be ordained <sup>ment VIII</sup>  
 that End. And his Majesty hath given  
 them his Faith and Word for all that is above-  
 written by this present Brief, which he has been  
 pleased to sign with his own Hand, and to  
 have it counter-sign'd by Us, his Secretaries of  
 State; Willing the said Brief to be of the same  
 Force and Value to them, as if the Contents  
 hereof were included in an Edict verify'd in  
 his Courts of Parliament; those of the said  
 Religion being satisfy'd, out of Consideration  
 for the Good of his Service, and the State of  
 his Affairs, not to press him to put this Ordi-  
 nance in any other more authentick Form,  
 being so confident of his Majesty's Word and  
 Goodness, that they assure themselves, that he  
 will make them enjoy the same fully: Having  
 to that End ordered all necessary Expeditions  
 and Dispatches for the Execution of what is  
 above-written, to be forthwith expedited.

Thus Sign'd,

*H E N R Y.*

And lower,

*F O R G E T.*

Such was the famous Edict of *Nantz*, where-  
 upon we think proper to make the following  
 Reflexions.

**F**IRST, That it was not such as the As- CII.  
 sembly of *Chatelheraud* had desired to be. *Some gene-*  
 The King, in order to shew his Authority, *ral Consi-*  
 and that he acted freely and without the least *derations*  
 Constraint, had made several Alterations in the *upon that*  
 Edict. *Articles,*


Henry IV. Articles, some of them he denied absolutely,  
 1598. some others he limited; That was not all, but  
 Pope Cle- new Alterations must be made before it could  
 ment VIII be registered in the Parliament of *Paris*, as  
 we shall say, when we shall relate the Trans-  
 actions of the next Year.

Secondly, The Situation of the King's and of the Reformed's Affairs, when that Edict was granted, deserves to be particularly taken notice of. The Reformed were disarmed, and, as one may say, at the Discretion of a victorious King, who was come to *Angers*, at the head of an Army near 15,000 Men strong, Horse and Foot, whereby the Assembly of *Chateleraud* was put in a great Fright, lest the King should fall upon them, and force them to accept his own Terms: he spoke very roughly to their Deputies, nay he threatned them; so that, being not able to dive into the real Intention of his Majesty, they were almost brought to Despair. This Passage is so much the more observable, as it is a most proper Argument against the Calumny of some Catholick Writers, who have boldly asserted, that the said Edict was but a Grant which had been extorted by Force. True it is, that his Majesty was very far from being so angry as he feigned to be; that is very plain, by the kind Reception the Dukes of *Bouillon*, and *La Trimouille*, (the two great Sticklers for the Liberties of the Reformed Churches in *France*,) met with at *Saumur*, where the King welcomed them both with such signal Demonstrations of Love, that thereby one might easily perceive, that his Threatnings had been rather to maintain his Royal Authority, or to dazzle the *Pope's*, his Legate's, and the Leaguers' Eyes, than out of any real Anger.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Besides the Reasons above-mention-  
 ed of these long Delays, before that Affair could  
 be concluded, there were some others, arising  
 from the very Nature of the Things which the  
 Reformed demanded, and which I shall relate  
 summarily. Great Difficulties arose both about  
 the Thing itself, and the Form thereof, and  
 the Court had no less Difficulty for agreeing upon  
 the one than on the other. The Demands of the  
 reformed came to six or seven general Articles,  
 but each of these Articles was sub-divided into  
 a great Number of others, necessary either for  
 the Explanation, or for the Security of the  
 general Demands. Therefore, having brought  
 first all their Propositions into the Compass of  
 6, or 97 Articles, the Debates which arose  
 during the Course of that Negotiation, obliged  
 them to add several new Articles to the former,  
 either to remove or prevent the Difficulties,  
 which might occur either in the Conclusion, or  
 the Execution of the Edict. So then, without  
 dissenting from the Substance of their Demands,  
 they only in such Things, wherein they had  
 proposed the Alterations made by the Court,  
 they made several Additions to their Memoirs  
 from time to time, and altered the Form and  
 style thereof, as they thought proper. They  
 gave two several Titles to these new Articles;  
 one of them, which were put at the End of  
 the Memoirs, and were few in Number, were called *Ad-*  
*ditions*, the others were called *Explanations*, be-  
 cause they were Articles, whereupon they de-  
 manded the King to explain himself. These Ex-  
 planations followed the Article the Contents  
 whereof wanted to be explained; sometimes,  
 several such Explanations were made upon one  
 and the same Article, which went by the Name  
 First, Second, &c.

Henry IV.  
 1598.  
 Pope Cle-  
 ment VIII

Henry IV. THEIR FIRST GENERAL ARTICLE was  
 1598. a new Edict, because they could not rest sa-  
 Pope Cle- tisfy'd with those formerly granted, and that in  
 ment VIII  
 their Opinion, their past Services deserved to be  
 better rewarded; they could not bear to be no  
 better treated under the Reign of *Henry the*  
*Fourth* (their *Foster-Child*, whom they had  
 brought up with so great Care and Tenderneſs,  
 whom they had fed with their own sweating  
 Blood, and Substance) than they had been un-  
 der *Henry III.* their greateſt Perſecutor. They  
 ſaid, that upon the King's turning Catholick,  
 they had been ſolemnly promiſed a better Edict,  
 at *Mantes*, which Promiſe had been renewed a  
 Year after at *St. Germain*. So that their Pre-  
 tenſions were not groundeſd (*as the Promoters*  
*of the Repealing of the Edict of Nantz would ſain*  
*have perſuaded the World,*) upon the Prejudice  
 they had ſuffered by the ſeveral Treaties made  
 with the Heads of the Leaguers, which were  
 ſo many Infringements of the Edict of 1577;  
 but upon the Greatneſs of their Services, for  
 which they demanded an Edict, as a Reward  
 due to them. As to the Breaches made to the  
 ſaid Edict by the ſaid Treaties, they were very  
 little concerned in them, for they plainly de-  
 clared that they would not have it, thinking  
 themſelves rather prejudiced than favoured by  
 it. The King was much puzzled at that, for  
 he would ſain to perſuade the Pope and the  
 Catholick Party, whom he dreaded above all  
 Things, that he did nothing in Behalf of his  
 Reformed Subjects, but what his Predeceſſor  
 had done. The Catholicks had a Notion that  
 the Edict of 1577, ought to be reſtored to the  
 Reformed; and whereas by the ſeveral Trea-  
 ties made with the Leaguers it had been dero-  
 gated from in many Inſtances, they thought  
 if

it was just to make them some amends for it, <sup>Henry IV.</sup> but then they refused obstinately to have that <sup>1598.</sup> Amends go under any other Name but that <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> of *Compensation*, for the Damages they had <sup>ment VIII</sup> suffered by the said Treaties. However, that Difficulty which for so long a Time had kept them at a Stand, was at last removed as soon as the King's Commissaries were arrived; the Word of *Compensation* remained, for to satisfy the zealous Catholics and the Court of Rome. But on the other hand they had also a Regard to the Demand of the Reformed, and they obtained many things over and above the promised Compensation, because the King, who loved them intirely, was willing to reward their long and faithful Services. In a word, he gave them a new Edict which repealed all others, and therefore it could not go by the Name of a mere Compensation for the Infringements made to the former; since they were all abolished by this, which, for the future, was to be the standing Law in their stead. And this is to be observed against the above-mentioned Promoters of the Repealing of the Edict of *Nantz*, who pretended that since the said Edict was only a mere Compensation for what had been derogated from the Edict of 1577, by the Treaties with the Leaguers, it was likely enough that these Damages were not very considerable; and consequently that the Intention of the Edict of *Nantz* was to grant but little to the Reformed. That Principle being false, the Consequence can be but very unjust.

THE SECOND GENERAL ARTICLE had respect to the Freedom of Exercise, and was of a very large Extent, for it contained the Grounds of the Right of that Exercise, which was to be established or continued; the Bounds



Henry IV. of that Privilege, according to the Times, Persons, and Places; and generally all the Circumstances of the said Exercise, together with the Exemption from certain things related to the *Roman* Worship, which their Consciences could not comply with. The Assembly had at first demanded a full Liberty of Exercise all over the Kingdom, without any Distinction of Places; but they desisted from that Point, either because in several great Cities there was not one single Reformed, and consequently the Grant of an Exercise in such Places would be to no purpose; or because in some of the best, such as *Bordeaux, Thoulouse, &c.* they would have rather renewed the civil War, than suffered the Exercise of the Reformed Religion within their Walls; or because it had been granted to other Towns, that no such Exercise should ever be introduced amongst them. Therefore they restrained that Demand, to a general Freedom of dwelling wherever they pleased, and to have a free Exercise in certain Places only, since it was impossible to have it every where: But they stood fast to their Resolution of getting it with a larger Extent than before. This was at last granted them, and two Articles were set down in the Edict for that purpose: By the first whereof, their Exercise was permitted in all Places where they had established it ever since the Edicts of the League in 1585, till the Truce between *Henry III.* and the King of *Navarre*, in 1589, and after the Truce, so long as the War continued with the Leaguers; and after some Altercations all those Places were comprised under the general Clause of Places, wherein the Exercise of the Reformed Religion had been made in the Years 1596 and 1597, not that it should be

be requisite for grounding a Right that the Ex-<sup>Henry IV.</sup>ercise should have continued in those Places for <sup>1598.</sup>those two Years; but the Meaning of it was, <sup>Pope Cle-</sup>that the said Exercise should have been settled <sup>ment VIII</sup>in those Places at least in either of these two Years, so that a Place where it had not been settled but in *August* 1597, had the same Right, as that where it had been settled in 1596. The Reason thereof was, that whereas the Reformed required the Preservation of their Exercise, wherever it was settled at the Day when they subscribed their Memoirs to be sent to Court, the Catholicks were afraid, lest during the new Delays of the Negotiations, which were not as yet finished in *August* 1597, new Churches might be set up, and the Confirmation thereof demanded, as well as of those of 1596; therefore they caused all the Dates of these Settlements to be fixed upon the Month of *August* 1597. The second Article granted that in each Bailiwick or Seneschalship, where, by the Edict of 1577, the Reformed had a publick Place for their Religious Worship, either in a Burrough, or in the Suburbs of a Town, another should be given them, besides the first. And it is to be observed, that in all this, the *Roman* Catholicks secured the whole Advantage to themselves, and would never suffer that the Reformed Religion should stand upon even Ground with theirs, by granting them a Liberty equal to their own; the *Roman* Religion had a Right to be professed publicly every where, but the Reformed was limited to certain Places, and restrained by certain Conditions, as being only tolerated. Debates arose likewise, about the Nature of the Places to be granted for the publick Worship, whether they should be within the Walls of Towns or in the Sub-

Henry IV. urbs; whether in Burroughs, or Villages. There

1598.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII



were some concerning the Manner of declaring the Places where the new Possession gave a Right of Exercise, because the safest Way appeared to be the less advantageous; it was proposed to get all those Places named one by one, in the Edict, which indeed was the best, or to comprehend them all under some general Denomination. This last was followed, because a very odd Notion of the Antichrist's sudden Fall prevailing then amongst many of the Reformed Divines, they thought that it would be more advantageous for them to have the Places of their Exercise comprehended under some general Denomination, than if they were mentioned one by one: And that wrong Notion induced them to several Mistakes, not only on this account but on several others, for many Years afterwards. All other Points which had any Reference to this General Article, such as the Liberty of visiting and comforting the Sick, even in the Hospitals; of assisting the Prisoners; of exhorting the Criminals; and attending them to the Place of Execution; the Exemption from several things, whereat the Consciences of the Reformed were offended, as being Parts, or Circumstances of the Catholick Worship, and several other Articles of the same Nature, met with proportionable Difficulties before they could be agreed upon; but that concerning the Burials occasioned the warmest Debates of all the rest. The Catholicks having, through a blind Zeal, contrived Canons, which under colour of Piety, destroy all Sense of Humanity, in forbidding all such as the Councils or *Popes* have declared Hereticks, to be buried in holy Ground, as they call it, their Clergy could not endure the Reformed should be buried in com-  
mon

mon Church-yards, nor even the Lords and Henry IV. Gentlemen in the Chapels of their own House; <sup>1598.</sup> or in the Churches wherein they had a Right of <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> Patronage. On the other hand the Reformed, <sup>ment VIII</sup> tho' no longer infatuated with the Conceit, that one Spot of Ground is holier than another, earnestly required that the same Church-yard should serve for both Parties, because they could not brook that Distinction, by which they were injuriously reflected upon: For Hereticks being excluded out of common Church-yards, the Burying of the Reformed in other Places, was a plain Declaration of their being Hereticks; and by such a publick Blur, they saw themselves exposed to the Hatred of the Catholicks, a People always zealous, even to Fury and Madneſs, againſt any thing that appears to them in the Shape of Heresy. Now this important Article was explained by the Edict, or executed by the King's Commissaries in such a Manner as proved under *Lewis XIV.* the fatal Spring of innumerable Vexations and Injustices.

A THIRD GENERAL ARTICLE of the Demands of the Reformed, was concerning the Subsistence of the Ministers and the Maintenance of the Schools. The Reformed required to be freed from paying Tenths to the *Roman* Clergy, they thought that they owed them nothing, since they did not own them as their Pastors; and they thought it unjust, that being at the Charge of maintaining their own Ministers, they should also contribute to the Subsistence of the Priests of a contrary Religion. They required, that, at least, their Ministers should be paid out of the publick Money, according to an Article of the Treaty of Truce with *Henry III.* They also desired Schools for the

Henry IV. Instruction of their Youth, with a publick Allowance for the Masters; and moreover, that they might be admitted Doctors, Professors and Teachers in all the Universities and Faculties, to the end that their Children might freely take their Degrees in the most flourishing Colleges. In this Pretension of publick Salaries, they thought not so much of saving their own Money, as they aimed at the most important Point of being owned Members of the State, equal to the Catholicks, and capable as well as they, of all Sorts of honourable and profitable Employments. Therefore the Catholicks, who could not endure that Equality of the Reformed with them, stoutly opposed this Article. As to the Ministers' Salary, it was put to an end, or rather eluded by the King's Promise, to pay the Reformed a yearly Sum of Money, to be employed, as they should think fit, without giving an Account thereof: But still they trifled about the Quantity of that Sum, about the Assignations of the Money, and about the Security of the Payment. And after all this, the Measures they took were so uncertain, that, a little time after the Conclusion, they complained of their being ill paid, and they enjoyed not the Effect of this Promise much longer than twenty Years. Moreover, as the Sum promised was not sufficient to maintain such a great Number of Ministers, that was in a manner made up by the secret Articles, whereby they were allowed to accept Gifts and Legacies for the Subsistence of Ministers, Scholars, and the Poor, and to make Assessments upon their People on certain Conditions. As to the Schools, their fantastical Notion of the speedy Fall of the Antichrist, above-mentioned, occasioned their Eagerness for being freely admitted

mitted into the Universities and other public Henry IV.  
Colleges of the Kingdom; and whereas the 1598.  
Reformed were then generally reputed for Men *Pope Cle-*  
of a greater and more polite Learning than the *ment VIII*  
Papists, they did not question but that  
their Religion would fall to the Ground, and their  
Religion be triumphant as soon as their great  
Teachers could appear either in the Professors'  
Chairs, or in the Pulpits, and as soon as Men  
would embrace their Doctrine without being  
deceived from any temporal Advantage. That  
Concession made them to neglect to take proper  
Provisions for their own Schools, Colleges and  
Universities; they ran after a Shadow, forsak-  
ing the real Body, which Neglect of their  
Fathers their Children paid very dear for  
another Time. Their Demands in that re-  
spect were granted without much Difficulty,  
the Conditions were so ill-explained, that  
the Concession proved fatal unto them, as we  
see in its proper Place.

FOURTH GENERAL ARTICLE where-  
in the Reformed insisted, was concerning  
the Security of the Estates, and of Civil and  
Personal Properties; by virtue whereof, Chil-  
dren, or the next of Kin, inherit their deceased  
Fathers or Relations' Estates; and the Mem-  
bers of the same Commonwealth are made ca-  
pable of receiving Benefits, Gifts and Legacies,  
Buying and Selling, of Contracting, Acting  
and Disposing of what belongs to them accord-  
ing to Law. The Nobility and Gentry had,  
as the general Concern, a special Interest  
in, in regard to their Fiefs, Lordships,  
Manages and Honours: And, whereas by  
the Canons of the Church, the Hereticks were  
deprived of these Rights, and that by the  
word HERETICK, they meant whomsoever  
opposed,

Henry IV. opposed, not the Holy Scripture, but the Te-  
 1598.  
 Pope Cle- nets of the Church of *Rome*, and consequently  
 ment VIII the Reformed; the Necessity of making some  
 ~~~~~ Provisions against such an unjust and cruel Law  
 was obvious enough; nothing was wanting in  
 that respect but the Renewing what had been  
 already enacted by the former Edicts; and this  
 was accordingly done, with some Exceptions  
 relating to some particular Cases, some whereof  
 were explained in the secret Articles, and others  
 left undecided, for Reasons of State.

A FIFTH GENERAL ARTICLE whereupon  
 the Managers of the Edict on the Reformed  
 Side insisted much, was for obtaining an equal  
 Number of Judges of both Religions in every  
 Parliament. The Ill-Will of these Courts, who  
 daily did notorious Pieces of Injustice to the  
 Reformed, and started a World of Difficulties  
 and Scruples in the verifying of the Edicts  
 granted for their Security, rendered that ne-  
 cessary. But the same Parliaments had such an  
 Interest to prevent the Multiplying of Offices  
 in their Bodies, and the Dismembering of their  
 Jurisdictions, that this Affair met with many  
 Difficulties and Obstacles. Nevertheless, the  
 King granted one Chamber, composed partly  
 of Reformed and partly of Catholics, in the  
 Parliaments of *Toulouse*, *Bordeaux* and *Gre-*  
*noble*, where the Causes of the Reformed should  
 respectively be brought. There was already  
 one at *Castres*, and some Reformed Judges had  
 been established in the Parliament of *Grenoble*,  
 and it seems that the Reformed of *Dauphiné*,  
 where *Lesdiguieres* had a full Power, had no-  
 thing common in several Affairs with those of  
 the same Religion in other Provinces; three  
 Judges were then added to the former, to  
 make up a Mixt-Chamber, which at the very  
 Time

Time of its Creation, was incorporated with Henry IV. the Parliament, insomuch that its Members were called in, whenever any thing was to be debated in a full House. Moreover, the King promised to erect a Chamber at *Paris*, consisting of ten Catholick Judges, and six Reformed; and the Reformed who lived within the respective Jurisdictions of the Parliaments of *Rouën*, *Rennes*, and *Dijon*, had their Choice either to bring their Causes before that of their own Province, or before any of the Chambers granted, in the nearest of them. The King's Promise to the Reformed in respect of the Parliament of *Paris*, was not executed; but, he made some amends for it, by creating some new Offices of Judges in that of *Rouën*, and a Chamber of the Edict like that of *Paris*, which the said Parliament of *Rouën* was very glad to accept of, tho' a great Enemy to the Reformed; nay, they declared that the Treaty concluded with the Marquis of *Villars*, their Governour during the Time of the League, was not against that Concession; the Reason for such a great Condescension was taken from their Self-Interest; they were made sensible by Experience, of the great Damage they were to suffer, if the Reformed of *Normandy*, who were very numerous, continued to bring their Causes to *Paris*; the Catholicks themselves of that Province, stuck not sometimes to beg their Intervention in their own Causes, when they had some secret Jealousy, or other Exception against their Judges. The Reformed of *Britanny* had not the same Favour in the Parliament of *Rennes*, which were some of the most furious against them, either because they would not consent to it, or, that being so partial and passionate, a sufficient Number of equitable Men

could


1598.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII



Henry IV. could not be found among them to make up  
 1593. a Chamber, or finally, because the Number of  
 Pope Clement VIII Reformed in that Province was then but in-  
 considerable. Nothing was altered in what had  
 been agreed upon concerning the Parliament of  
*Dijon.*

A SIXTH GENERAL ARTICLE was, for a free Admittance to all Offices of State, War, Justice, Policy, Treasury, and to all Commissions, Employments, Professions, Arts and Trades, from the highest to the meanest, without Danger of being excluded from any on account of Religion. It was directly against the Canon-Law, which debars from all these Rights, such as are not obedient to the *Roman* Church, and who are for that Reason termed Hereticks; and it had been the Original of all the Oppositions made to the Reformed, during so many Years together; but it was of such great Consequence to them, that they would never desist from that Article; because, besides the Honour and Credit of Offices, which they would not have their Families to be deprived of, they were sensible, that, if that honourable Door was shut to them, such as had more Ambition than Religion; would soon forsake their naked and barren Religion, and thereby bring the Reformation to a declining State. The greatest Opposition came from Parliaments, who refused to admit them to Offices of the Law. But at last they obtained their Desire, and the King declared them capable of holding all Sorts of Offices; whereby they thought they had gained a considerable Point, because that Honour being denied to Hereticks by the Canons, as above-said, their being admitted to them, was a Discharge from that odious and hateful Name. Yet in this important Affair,  
 the

he Reformed were highly mistaken, when they Henry IV.  
 contented themselves with a bare, and general <sup>1598.</sup>  
 Declaration of their Capableness of Offices, <sup>Pope Cle-</sup>  
 without solidly engaging the King to declare <sup>ment VIII</sup>  
 that they should be really and actually conferred  
 upon them. There were some among them,  
 who fore-seeing that some time or other, this  
 general Declaration would be mis-interpreted;  
 moved in the Assembly, for fixing, in each  
 Kind of Employments or Offices, a certain  
 Number of Places, that should be conferred  
 upon the Reformed. *Du Pleffis* treating some  
 Years before with *Villeroy*, had obtained the  
 fourth Part of all Places in the Kingdom, and  
 was even in hopes to obtain a third. But  
 the Assembly thought that such a General De-  
 claration had something more flattering than  
 the Limitation of a certain Number of Places,  
 because thereby the Reformed were more fully  
 equalled to the Catholicks: They did not con-  
 sider that there was a vast Difference between  
 declaring one capable of a Place and bestowing  
 it upon him. It is also what *d' Ossat* saith to  
 the *Pope*, in order to excuse what his Master  
 had done, and to appease him, because he  
 feigned to be very angry against his Majesty.  
 True it is, that at the Time of the publishing  
 of this Edict, the Reformed got some Advan-  
 tage by that Article, the best part of all infe-  
 rior Offices fell immediately to their Share, and  
 even the Catholick Lords were so well per-  
 suaded, that they had either more Capacity or  
 Honesty than others, that they stuck not to  
 prefer them, before the Catholicks, to such  
 Places as were in their Gift: Moreover, most  
 Part of the Offices being venal in *France*, the  
 Reformed bought them dearer than others;  
 and by that Means, overcame all Sorts of Op-  
 positions,

Henry IV. positions, which happened especially for Places  
 1598. of a new Creation, when he that bids more is  
 Pope Cle- sure to be the Buyer. But this happy State of  
 ment VIII  the Reformed lasted not above 27 Years; the  
 Event has shewn that it would have been better  
 for us, had our Fore-fathers been more exact  
 in stipulating the Number of Places and Offices  
 that were to be the Share of the Reformed;  
 for our implacable Enemies did not forget that  
 perfidious Maxim above-mentioned, that to de-  
 clare one capable of any Office, and to bestow  
 it upon him, are two different Things; for,  
 very far from being admitted to high Offices,  
 or preferred to the greatest Dignities, according  
 to our Merits, we have been shifted with, even  
 about the meanest Offices, and the most incon-  
 siderable Trades of the Kingdom.

A SEVENTH GENERAL ARTICLE, was con-  
 cerning the Securities, the principal whereof was,  
 in the Opinion of the Reformed, the keeping of  
 those Places which they had now in their Pos-  
 session, and were numerous and strong enough  
 to resist their Enemies in case of an Attack. But  
 this very Thing made the Difficulty; for the  
 Council was very unwilling to leave so many  
 Fortresses in the hands of brave and bold Men,  
 amongst whom there was a great Number of  
 warlike and courageous Nobility, who had  
 been permitted to unite together for their mu-  
 tual Defence. But the Assembly was inflexible  
 upon this Point, and would by no means  
 hearken, of parting with what they had; the  
 Experience of the Times past, made them afraid  
 that the Edict might be used as a Pretence to  
 disarm them, and that the Catholicks would  
 not scruple to break their Oath, as soon as  
 their Places of Surety should be taken from  
 them, and they would no longer be at the Dis-  
 cretion

cretion of their Enemies and irreconcilable Henry IV. Persecutors. Besides that general Interest, no <sup>1598.</sup> doubt but several private ones were mixed <sup>Pope Clement VIII</sup> with it; for there was no Lord, or Captain, but who had some Place or other under his Command, and none of them would have yielded willingly his own. However, the Council, desirous to hinder the Multiplication of these Places, limited the Time during which a Place ought to have been in the possession of the Reformed, for its being reckoned a Cautionary Place. All this Article was very difficult to resolve, for they debated about the Number and Quality of the Places, about the Strength of the Garisons; about the Nomination of Governours, and the Oath to be taken by them; about the Change in case of Death; about the Disposition of the Under-Offices; about the Time of the keeping of them; and about several other things which respected the Circumstances of that Trust. The Assembly desired chiefly to have it declared, that these Places that should be ascribed to the Reformed, should not exclude them from other Governments, whereto they might be chose, according to their Merits. The Council made use of all their Arts to evade these Pretensions, and above all, to have the Nomination of the Governours residing in the King, to the end that such as were admitted might be rather in the Court Interest than the Cause's. In order to get this Point, the Court was obliged to grant, that those who should be nominated by the King, should have a Certificate from the Colloquy, to the end that the said Colloquy might challenge them, if they were suspicious; besides, that the King promised them to take their Advice whenever any Government should become vacant,

Henry IV. vacant; that he might not chuse such Persons  
 1598. into those Places, as would be disagreeable to  
 Pope Cle- them.  
 ment VIII

It must be observed, that the granting of these Places to the Reformed, was not so contrary to the King's Interests, nor even to his Intentions, as some have pretended, and as his Majesty himself was sometimes forced, out of Policy, to say. This Prince was not yet free from the Perplexity, wherein the Uncertainty of the Succession, the Authority of the greatest Lords in the Kingdom; and the Power of the Chief Officers of his Troops had put him. The Seeds of those Conspiracies which had been raised against him and the State, were rather hidden then quite stifled: And there was too much reason to fear, that so many Men being corrupted by the Practices and Gold of Spain, they might form such a Party as would give him a great deal of Trouble to destroy; whereupon he complained very often, that there was none about him, whom Prudence could permit him to confide in. But, on the other hand, when he recollected to himself, the strong Affection that the Reformed had so seasonably shew'd towards him for so many Years together; he was satisfy'd that they were his approved Friends, from whom, in the greatest Emergencies, he might promise himself all Assistance. It is true, at that time they were dissatisfy'd with his Indifference towards them, and his delaying their Affairs; but he was certain he should always find them ready to lay down their Lives for his Service, as soon as ever he should give them any Token of his former Confidence and Trust in them: And therefore, he thought it a very material Point wherein he was deeply concerned, to preserve them,  
 and

and spoke afterwards to his Confidents of the Peace he had granted them, as a Thing he had most ardently wished for, and which would be very useful to him in his greatest Undertakings. He look'd upon the Reformed as his own Party, and their strong Places as his own : He knew very well, that whatsoever Intrigues *Spain* might carry on with the turbulent Spirits of the Court, yet that Part of the State which was held by the Reformed, could not be taken from him, and that they might be serviceable even for keeping others in the Bounds of their Duty and Allegiance. He desired only to have a Power of Naming the Governours of their Towns, to the end that he might place in them, such who were as much adhering to his Interest as to their Religion, and who consequently should depend more upon him, than upon the Councils or political Assemblies ; and for procuring their Consent to this Article, he found out the Expedient above-mentioned.

Henry VI.  
1598.  
Pope Clement VIII


But there was another great Difficulty, about the Payment of the Sums necessary for the Maintaining of the Garisons, the Fortifications, and the Walls of these Towns : For the Catholics were much offended, to see such great Sums paid by the King to the Hereticks, for Maintaining so many Fortresses that rendered them very formidable ; Nevertheless it could not be refused to Men who could say, that the like had been done for the Leaguers, the greatest Part whereof had Pensions, and their Garisons paid out of the King's Coffers : So that the Debate was reduced to consider the Means how to save the King's Money ; and the Reformed were contented with so little, that it can hardly be believed that all their Garisons could be paid with so inconsiderable a Sum.

Henry IV. When all was thus settled, a new Debate arose  
 1598. about the Security to be given to the Reformed  
 Pope Cle- ment VIII for the Payment of these Sums promised; they  
 would have been very glad, had they been  
 allowed to stop the King's Money in the Re-  
 ceivers-Office, in their respective Provinces,  
 rather than to accept of such Assignments as  
 they feared would be both inconvenient and  
 uncertain. But it was not thought becoming  
 with their Duty to show forth so great Distrust  
 of the King's Word, and therefore they were  
 contented with the Promise he gave them of  
 convenient and certain Assignments. There were  
 some private Persons also, having no Employ-  
 ment, either in the Cautionary Towns or in the  
 Army, who made private Requests, some of Ar-  
 rearages of Pensions, others for some Gifts to  
 settle their Affairs, others for some Recompense  
 for their past Services, which had not yet been  
 acknowledged, &c. under several Pretences; but  
 the whole of their Demands amounted to so  
 small a Sum, that being put all together it would  
 scarcely equal the least Recompense that some  
 of the Leaguers had obtained.

Fourthly, When all Things were agreed on,  
 there still remained a general Difficulty con-  
 cerning the Manner how these Concessions  
 should be published. An Edict seemed to be  
 the most authentick Way, but there were so  
 many Obstacles, so many Fears of offending  
 the Catholicks, and of giving any Pretence to  
 the Disaffected of beginning new Disturbances,  
 and such Hopes given to the Churches of mend-  
 ing their Condition with the Times, that at  
 last they agreed upon several Forms under  
 which several Concessions should be granted,  
 as it had been done on other Occasions. First,  
 They gave an Edict, which contained the Ge-  
 neral

neral Articles to the Number of ninety two, Henry IV. as you have seen them. Then some particular Heads were added to the Edict under the <sup>1598.</sup> *Pope Clement VIII* Name of secret Articles, to the number of fifty six, among which were many of great Importance, which well deserved to have been inserted into the Body of the Edict; but the Reformed contented themselves with placing them in the Appendix; because it was directed to the Parliaments, several of whom verify'd it. What is very singular in that Appendix, is, that some of the Articles are worded after such a Manner, that it seems that they regarded only the Time past, and the present, but not the future, which nevertheless have been executed from the Time of the Publication of the Edict, to the Time of its Repealing, without calling them in question; such were the Articles concerning Marriages in such Degrees which the Catholicks are not allowed of without a Licence from *Rome*. This in a manner made some Amends for some other Articles of the Edict itself which could never have been put in execution; such as that which allowed the Reformed to live in all Places of the Kingdom; for there were several Towns wherein they could never appear with Safety, much less live therein without Disturbance. But a particular Observation must be made here, concerning the Liberty of Conscience; the Edict aimed purposely at the settling and confirming thereof, and yet there was no formal Article therein, whereby all the *Frenchmen* were allowed it: But it was plainly pre-supposed by the Edict, and the Spirit of Liberty was such amongst them, that they fancy'd themselves, that *France* was the only Kingdom in the World, wherein Liberty suffered less Encroachment; so that all



Henry IV. the King's Subjects were allowed to enjoy it, <sup>1598.</sup> as to Religion, for many Years together, with-  
 Pope Cle- out the least Disturbance; and that Privilege  
 ment VIII  has not been violated, until the Edict has been made void in its most important Concessions.

Fifthly, The other Things which could be mentioned neither in the Edict, nor in the secret Articles, were promised by private Patents, wherewith the Reformed were satisfied, tho' these Sorts of Letters have not force of Law, but continue so, only at the King's Pleasure, who may revoke them whenever he has a mind to it. Nevertheless, having a particular Regard to his Majesty's Affairs, they yielded to his Will in this Respect. There were three Patents of this Nature. By the first, which is of the 3d of *April*, a Sum of 45,000 Crowns was granted for the Payment of the Ministers. As the Court durst not declare openly the Use for which that Sum was destined, lest the Catholics should murmur, seeing Part of the King's Revenue employed for the keeping up of Heresy; so they were obliged to put in some Clause which might secure it from giving them any Scandal. *Du Plessis*, having inserted an Article upon this Subject, amongst those which had been agreed upon at *Mantes*, had obtained that the promised Sum should be paid under the Name of Lady *Catharine*, the King's own Sister, because she could receive greater Gratifications of the King her Brother without giving any Suspicion: But she could not live always, and therefore some other Device must be found out, which might serve them at all Times; so that it was declared in the Patent that this Sum was given to the Reformed, *To be laid out by them in their secret Concerns, which his Majesty would have neither specify'd nor declared.*

The

The second Patent was dated the 30th of Henry IV. April, and concerned the Cautionary Towns, and Places; as their Number amounted to above two hundred, large or small, the Court was afraid to offend the Catholicks, had an Article thereof been inserted in the Edict, specifying them one after another. This Patent explained likewise several other Things which seemed to be left undetermined by the Edict. The King declared therein, by way of a Preface, the Motives that induced him to grant them the keeping of these Fortresses. And in the Conclusion we find a very honourable Mention made of the Reformed's Complaisance, and of their Regard for his Majesty's Interest. Thus as the private Articles were a kind of Instructions for the Executors of the Edict, wherein the King explained many Things, which the General Articles had left obscure and undecided; so we may say also, that this Patent served as a Kind of a *Salvo* to certain Articles of the Edict which the Times would not permit to be put in more favourable Terms, altho' the King's Intention and Inclination was not averse from it. And above all, he justify'd the Reformed from the Reproach of having made any Advantage of the Conjunction of Affairs, in forcing him to grant them what they pleased, since he declared, that *they were contented with the King's Word, upon so many important Points; because the State of his Affairs would not allow him to give them better Securities.*

The third Patent, which I have omitted, was for the Distribution of 23,000 Crowns, to several private Persons, to some for one Time, to others for two Years, to some for four, and to others again for eight Years:

Henry IV. To some by way of Gratification, and to others  
 1598. as Arrears due for past Services. Thus all the  
 Pope Cle- personal Favours, that the King granted to the  
 ment VIII Reformed, amounted to a very small Matter,  
 whereby it appeared, that private Interest was  
 not the Motive of their Pursuits, as they de-  
 clared in all their Requests. All the Sums  
 amounted not to 250,000 Crowns: And, even  
 at the End of eight Years the Whole was to  
 be reduced to less than a fifth Part, which they  
 gave to the Reformed in Compensation of the  
 Tenth, which they were obliged to pay to the  
 Catholick Clergy.

THESE Observations which I have made  
 upon the Edict of *Nantes*, and which for the  
 most part are abstracted out of the Vth Book  
 of the Ist Volume of the Revd. Mr. *Benoit's*  
 History of the said Edict, seems to me sufficient  
 for giving a true Notion of that knotty and  
 important Affair, of the Difficulties which the  
 Managers thereof had to overcome, before they  
 could come to a Conclusion.

CIII. And now, I think it very proper to say  
 something of these chief Managers, either on  
 the King's Side, or the Reformed. The Count  
 of SCHOMBERG, THUANUS, CALIGNON, and  
 DE VIC, were the King's Commissaries, charged  
 to transact with the Deputies of the Reformed  
 assembled at *Chatel-herault*; to whom we may  
 join the Baron of RONY, who, tho' he was  
 but seldom present at the Conferences, in-  
 fluenced, nevertheless, the Assembly by his  
 great Credit.

Of Gas- GASPARD OF SCHOMBERG, Count of *Nan-*  
 pard of *teuil*, was born of a most noble and ancient  
 Schom- Family in *Germany*; he was at *Angers* for his  
 beig. Studies, when the first Civil War broke out,  
 in 1562, and withstood, at the Head of the  
 Reformed,

Reformed, the first Onset of the Catholics Henry IV. that came to surprize that City, but having been <sup>1598.</sup> forsaken by his Troop, he was forced to re- <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> treat; since that time, he took Party in the <sup>ment VIII</sup> King's Army, where he served first as Voluntier, then as Captain, afterwards as Colonel of the Reisters, and then their Major-General; in which Capacity he made himself so necessary, that King *Charles IX.* ingaged him, by his Esteem<sup>and</sup> Favours, to settle in the Kingdom, with the Command of these foreign Troops, under the Title of Colonel of the black Bands. He was a Man of a wonderful Genius and Sagacity in the Management of Affairs, eloquent, persuasive, a good Soldier, and a great Captain; to these great Qualifications, he joined a great Probity, and Integrity, he was courteous, affable, obliging, liberal even above his Fortune; and being a great Courtier he was naturally officious to every one, which is very rare amongst the Courtiers; his Virtues and his Sollicitude for the Glory and Welfare of the Kingdom, endeared him to the three Kings under whom he served, and commanded the Esteem of all the great Lords; his House was opened to the distressed and those who were in low Circumstances, especially to the Learned, and he admitted them to his Table, and assisted them in their Wants. For thirty six Years together, he was employed in several Negotiations, and was always at the Head of the most important Affairs, and enjoyed very great Honours either in Peace or War; he seemed born rather for his Friends and the Publick than for himself, for he died very deeply in debt, which he had contracted much more for the Service of the Publick and for his Friends, than for his own Use. His Lady *Johanna*

Henry IV. *Chasteigner of La Rochepozay*, discharg'd them  
 1598. all by her good OEconomy, several Years after  
 Pope Cle- his Decease. He died suddenly of a Suffoca-  
 ment VII. tion, in his Coach, as he came from *Conflans*,  
 a Mile from *Paris*, before he could reach any  
 Inn, on the 17th of *March* 1599; he had  
 been there in the Morning with President  
*Tbuanus*, to receive the King's Instructions,  
 having been named his Commissary in the  
 Southern Provinces, for putting the Edict in  
 execution; his Corpse was opened, and to  
 their great Surprize and Wonder, the Surgeons  
 found that the Membrane, and the fleshy Part  
 that covers the left Region of the Heart, and  
 is necessary for the Respiration, was become  
 as hard as a Bone, through the too great heat  
 and too much eating, (for he was tall and big  
 of his Shape,) so that he could breathe but  
 with difficulty, and was at last the Occasion of  
 his pre-mature Death. For along Time be-  
 fore, he had laboured under that Disease, and  
 when he was seized with the Fits thereof, he  
 felt a violent Pain in the Film of the Heart,  
 was all over in a Sweat, and ready to faint away  
 for Weakness. But as he was naturally very  
 patient, his Disease never hindered him from  
 going to Court every Day, and was so well  
 used through a long habit to these Fits, that  
 even his own Family troubled themselves very  
 little about it. He was Governour of the *High*  
*and Low March*, a Country in the *Lyonnese*,  
 and one of the King's most honourable Privy-  
 Council, *Charles IX.* had favoured his Ac-  
 quisition of the County of *Nanteuil* which he  
 bought of the Duke of *Guise*. He had two  
 Sons and three Daughters by his Lady above-  
 named, viz. *Henry* and *Annibal*, this last was  
 killed in the Wars of *Hungary* before his  
 Father's

Father's Death (c); *Henry* was Knight of the Henry IV,  
1598.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII King's Orders, Superintendant of his Exchequer, and Marshal of *France*, he died in 1632; his first Wife was *Frances*, Marchioness of *Espinay* and *Barbescieux*, Countess of *Durestal*, by whom he had *Charles* of *Schomberg* Marshal of *France*, and Colonel-General of the *Switzers*, &c. &c. (d) so well known in this Kingdom, whither he came on account of his Religion, at the repealing of the Edict of *Nantes*: He was killed at the Passage of the *Boyne* in *Ireland*, and left two Sons, the eldest was killed in *Piedmont* at the Battle of *La Marsaille*, the youngest succeeded to his Titles and Honours, and died in *London*, leaving a Daughter married first to the Earl of *Holderness*, and now to the Earl of *Fitzwalter*.

*SOFREDE*, Lord of *CALIGNON*, Of Sofrede  
Lord of  
Calignon. Chancellor of *Navarre*, was born at *St. John* near *Voiron* in *Dauphiné*, he was a Man of such great Parts and so deserving, either as to his Learning, or as to his Wit, or as to his Experience in Affairs, either as to the Sweetness of his Temper or the Integrity of his Morals, that few Persons can be parallel'd with him. He adhered in his Youth to the Reformed Religion, which he professed for all his Life, without being deterred from it by the Allurements of the Court, or by the positive Promises of the greatest Preferments; for had he been willing to turn Catholick, *Henry IV.* had declared oftentimes, that he would make him Chancellor of *France*. He was at first Secretary to the King of *Navarre*, then Counsellor

(c) Thuan. lib. xxx. pag. 102. Idem lib. cxxii. p. 865.

(d) Addit. aux Memoires de Casteln. Tom. 2. l. vii. c. 9. pag. 751, &c. Thuanus says that *Calignon* was born at *Grenoble*.

Henry IV. Counsellor, after that President in the Chamber of the Edict at *Grenoble*, and lastly, Chancellor of *Navarre*. At his Intercession the Reformed Inhabitants at *Paris* had their publick Exercise removed from *Blandy* four or five Leagues distant of *Paris* to *Charenton*, which is but two Miles or thereabout. He died in the Year 1606, after a lingering Sickness, being in the 57th Year of his Age (e).

Of James  
Augustus  
Thuanus.

JAMES AUGUSTUS THUANUS, in French, DE THOU, was born at *Paris*, the 9th of October 1553; his Father was *Christophe de Thou*, first President of the Parliament of *Paris*, his Grandfather had been made PRESIDENT à MORTIER, in the same Parliament, by *Francis I.* He was not 25 Years old when he was made Counsellor Clerk in the said Parliament; about six Years after, he was made Master of the Requests; in 1586, he had the Reversion of the Place of President à Mortier, which his Uncle enjoyed then; the next Year he married *Mary of Barbanson*, Daughter to *Francis of Barbanson-Cany*, and of *Antonia of Vastieres*, a very rich and noble Heirefs; that excellent Lady died in 1601, without leaving any Child, for which Cause, two Years after he married *Gasparda of La Châtre*, youngest Daughter to *Gaspard of La Châtre*, Count of *Nancey*, Knight of the King's Orders, and Captain of his Guards: he died in 1576, of the Wounds he had received at *Dreux*, about fifteen Years before, which opened itself again this Year thro' a too hard Riding, she was first Cousin to the Marshal of *La Châtre*; she died in July 1616, leaving behind her six Children, three Sons and three Daughters, and

2

(e) Thuan. lib. cxxxvi. pag. 1246. Teflier Elog. des hommes savans Tom. 2. pag. 376. Edit. of Utrecht, 1696.

a tender Husband in a disconsolate Condition, who out-lived her only ten Months or there-  
about, for he died in *May* following, of a Schir-  
rus in his Stomach, which caused to him the bit-  
terest Pains for almost a year together. I shall  
say nothing about the Character of that truly  
great Man, his Works, and especially the History  
of his own Times, which proclaims him one of  
the greatest Politicians, the learnedest, the sen-  
siblest, the most upright and the best Man that  
ever was in the World speak for him. His Im-  
partiality and strict Adherence to the Truth  
without any respect for Persons, drew upon  
him the Hatred and Persecutions of those,  
whom his own Probity and the Rules of Hi-  
story did not allow him to regard; the wicked  
Arts of the Courts of *Rome* and *Madrid* were  
so well disclosed, the Characters of several *Popes*,  
and of *Philip II.* was so well drawn to the  
Life, that these two Courts, especially the first,  
was very eager to show forth its Resentment.  
Tho' the King had a great Value for him,  
nevertheless he gave him over to the revengeful  
Spirit of *Rome*; that History was condemned  
on the 9th of *November* 1609, as a pernicious  
Book, the reading whereof was forbidden to all  
the Faithful in what Language soever. He was  
upbraided above all for having been one of the  
chief Managers of the Edict of *Nantz*, and  
having approved of it, as well as for having  
asserted the Rights of the Kingdom with a Li-  
berty ill-relished by the *Italian* Divines. In the  
Year 1640, the same History was condemned  
by the Inquisition of *Spain*; and several Pas-  
sages thereof were inserted into the *Index expur-*  
*gatorius*, printed at *Madrid* in 1667. Tho'  
King *James I.* of *England* received it very  
kindly, and read with a great deal of Pleasure  
the

Henry IV.  
1598.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII



Henry IV. first Volume; nevertheless, when he came to the Affairs of Scotland, the Character the Au-  
 1598. Pope Cle-  
 ment VIII  
 zabeth, provoked his Majesty, he desired that he would alter that Part of his History after his own way: But *Thuanus* knowing perfectly well his Duty in the Capacity of an Historian, refused to comply with King *James's* Desire, and chose to offend his MAJESTY rather than TRUTH. His own Country was very little less unjust, unto him, than the Foreigners; whereas he had spoken freely his Mind concerning the *League* and the *Leaguers*, *Villeroy*, who had sided with them, and the other Ministers of *Mary of Medicis*, put upon him the deadliest Affront that a Man of his Character could receive, for tho' he had agreed for the Charge of first President with *De Harlay* his Brother-in-Law, tho' he had so good Title to that Charge, nevertheless the Court put him aside, and gave it to *De Verdun*, then first President at *Tboulouse*. Thenceforward he continued his History, which he had interrupted for six Years together, and brought it down to the Year 1607, which is all that we have of that great Man upon History besides his own Memoirs. It seems that he had a mind to bring it down to the Death of *Henry IV.* but very likely he was hindered by his late painful and lingering Sickness, and at last Death put an end to his laborious Life, which had wholly been employed in the Service of his Princes, Country, and the Publick. The hard Fate of his eldest Son, who was beheaded at *Lyons*, for having not revealed a Plot contrived against Cardinal *De Richelieu*, tho' he was neither Accomplice nor Approver, proclaims loudly the cruel Temper of that Minister, the Weakness of his Master, and the Wickedness of these Times.

*MAXIMILIAN* of *BETHUNE*, Baron of *ROSNY* and created Duke of *SULLY* <sup>1598.</sup> by *HENRY IV.* was born in the Year 1561, <sup>Pope Clement VIII</sup> of a most noble and ancient Family. His Parents adhered to the Reformed Religion, and brought up their Son in the same; in 1572, he <sup>Of the Duke of Sully.</sup> entered Page to the Prince of *Navarre*. He gained the Confidence of his Master by his Complaisance for him: (*Which increased proportionably to the Probabilities of his succeeding to the Crown of FRANCE, and was carried to the highest Pitch after the Surrender of PARIS:*) together with his other good Qualifications, and was advanced by degrees to the Places of the greatest Trust; being made Sur-Intendant of the *Exchequer*, Great-Master of the *Artillery*, Governor of the *Bastile*, Governor of *Poitou*, created Duke of *Sully* in 1606, and when he was 73 Years old, he was made Marshal of *France* by *Lewis XIII.* in the Year 1634. He died seven Years after. As to his Character; in general we may say, that very few can be paralleled with him, as to his civil and political Virtues, he was every way qualified for his Employments, and indeed he was a Man of great Order, careful, saving, strict to his Word, averse from all Extravagancy either in Gaming, or Feasting, or Building or Furniture, &c. &c. Furthermore, he was vigilant, laborious, diligent in dispatching Business, giving up almost all his time to his Office, and but very little to his Diversions. Besides that, he was endowed with a quick and very clear Understanding, and unravelled admirably well the Windings and Knots wherewith the Financiers are used to perplex their Accounts, and to cover their Extortions, when they have a mind to rob the Publick; he was thoroughly acquainted

Henry IV. acquainted with all the Revenues of the Kingdom, and the Expences necessary to be done; <sup>1598.</sup> *Pope Clement VIII* he acquainted the King thereof, but his Majesty wanted not such an Information, for he knew so well every thing of this Nature, that it was impossible to lay out a hundred Crowns, but he knew whether it was right or wrong. In a word, he discharged his Duty in that Post; with such a Fidelity and Exactness, that, tho' he got a very great Fortune, his Enemies have been obliged to own that he had got it but by lawful, fair and honourable Means. He discharged the King's Debts which were immense; he eased the People from Taxes, and filled up the King's Coffers with several Millions of Livres; he was no less industrious and diligent in the Discharge of his Duty, as Great-Master of the Artillery, and the Kingdom had never been before in so good Condition in that respect, as it was during his Administration. These excellent Qualifications, conjointly with his exceeding Complaisance for the King, endeared him to his Majesty, who took a particular Care of his Advancement; and raised him as high as he could. As to his Religion, he had been brought up in the Reformed, but was never over-scrupulous; by his Father's Orders, he turned Catholick after the Massacre in 1572, then he recanted again in 1576, when the King of *Navarre* made his Escape; he was the Man who advised the King (f) to turn Catholick, in order to enjoy peaceably his Inheritance; he had a hand in the drawing up of the Form of the King's Abjuration (g); and he was employed by his Majesty, under-hand in 1599, for procuring the Reformation of some Articles of the Edict, and for abridging of several Con-

cessions

(f) *Memoires de Sully*, Tom. I. ch. 37, 38. (g) Ch. 40.

cessions which had been granted at *Nantz* (b). Henry IV. In a word, he is charged by most of the Re-<sup>1598.</sup>formed Writers with such a Coldness for his <sup>Pope Cle-</sup>Religion, that they insinuate plainly enough, <sup>ment VIII</sup> that had the Profession thereof put an Obstacle to his Advancement, he would not have scrupled to renounce it, so that, during the Reign of *Henry IV.* he was much suspected by the whole Party, who mistrusted him. But in his old Age and some Years before his Death, he was reclaimed from that Indifference as to his Religion, by a young Clergyman, his Chaplain, and shewed thenceforward a greater Devotion, assisting at his Chapel with more Decency and Respect than he had done heretofore (j.) As to his Temper, he was very proud and haughty, respecting no body, and caring not how they would take his Rudeness, whereof the King himself had a good Specimen, at a time when *Rosni* thought little, that his Majesty would ever inherit the Crown of *France*, and consequently when he expected very little Advancement from him (i). He was envious against all those whose bright Parts could eclipse his own, and did his endeavours to keep them out of his Way as much as he could; he had a great hand in the Disgrace of the Dukes of *Bouillon*, and *La Tremouille*, of *Du Plessis Mor-nay*, and several others; his Envy and Resentment went so far, that he spared not *Calumny*, whenever that would serve his Turn, as I have said above in the Case of *Du Plessis*; and he behaved himself in such a manner during his Prosperity, that very few pitied him when he was divested of his Charges of Sur-Intendant, Governor of the *Bastille*, and Great-Master of the

(b) *Memoires de Sully*, Tom. I. ch. 89. (j) *Benoit*  
Tom. II. liv. x. (i) *Ibid.* Tom. I. ch. 13.

Henry IV. the *Artillery*. If in his publick Capacity he was a great Man of State, if he gave several Proofs of a great Courage and good Conduct in many Occasions when he had any Command in the Army, as indeed it cannot be denied without Injustice, his private Behaviour as a Baron of *Rosni*, and Duke of *Sully*, reflected indeed a Blemish upon his Character. His *Memoirs*, written either by himself, or by his Secretaries, as it is pretended in the Title, 4 Vol. folio, contain many Events, Transactions and Passages worthy the Curiosity of the Reader; tho' at the same time they are full of Instances of his Self-conceitedness, and one may say of him, what has been said of the Marshal of *Montluc's* *Memoirs*, PLURA FECIT, MULTA SCRIPSIT, that he had written of himself more than he had done.

As to the Managers of the Edict on the Reformed Side, no Doubt but every Deputy of the Churches had a hand in it more or less, but *Du Plessis*, the Duke of *La Tremouille*, *D'Aubigné*, and the Revd. Mr. *Chamier* may be considered as the Chief. Of *Du Plessis*, I have already spoken in my former Volume, it remains to say something of the three others.

Of the  
Duke of  
La Tre-  
mouille.

CLAUDIUS of LA TREMOUILLE, Duke of THOUARS, was the Head of the Nobility in *Poitou*, where he had a very great Estate; his Riches, personal Merit, and great Alliances rendered him, with the Duke of *Bouillon*, the most considerable amongst the Reformed; he was born a Catholick, and his Father had been one of the greatest Persecutors, and one of the hottest Leaguers having made himself their Chief in *Poitou*. As to *Claudius*, being sensible of the Wrong done to the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*,

and

and the whole Reformed Party, he offered his Assistance to the Prince, and joined him with a numerous Attendance of Nobility in the Year 1585, tho' he was then very young, as being born in the Year 1570: A little after he turned Reformed, and the Prince married his Sister. He was a Lord of the brightest Parts, and one of the main Supports of the Reformed; his Sincerity and Stedfastness to that Party was such, that he could not be prevailed upon to recede the least in the world, from what he thought to be their true Interest; his Inflexibility was such, that he incurred the King's Displeasure for it, but he gained the Esteem and Confidence of his own Party. The Court endeavoured all possible Ways for engaging him to forsake the Common Cause, for that end, President *Tbuanus* was ordered to offer him the greatest Advantages; but he told him generously, *Whatsoever you could do for me would avail nothing, as long as the just Requests of the Reformed remain unanswered; but, says he, grant them Security of their Consciences and of their Lives, and then hang me up at the Gate of the Assembly, and be sure that no Disturbance will ensue.* They endeavoured likewise to stir him up with Emulation and Jealousy, when the Duke of *Bouillon* came to the Assembly, where *La Tremouille*, being much younger, gave him the first place, that he had held for two Years together; but he was not at all concerned for that Punctilio of Honour, which would have shaken a Soul less noble and generous than his, he yielded the Precedency, even without being asked, and consequently without regret. He had been Tutor and Governor of his Nephew the young Prince of *Condé*, who was for several Years the pre-

Henry IV.  
1598.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

Henry IV. sumptive Heir to the Crown, (Henry IV. 1598. having no lawful Child, and being irreconcilable with his Consort *Margaret of Valois*);  
 Pope Clement VIII and that Quality made him more respected by the Reformed. He was strictly united with the Duke of *Bouillon*, especially when they had married the two Sisters of *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*. He was very valiant and courageous, stedfast, open-hearted, resolute, generous, an Enemy to Oppression, a great Stickler for Liberty, and consequently, obnoxious to the Persecutions of the King's base Flatterers, who begun to struggle for raising the royal Prerogative over and above the Privileges of their Fellow-Subjects. And indeed, tho' he persevered to the last in the Bounds of his Allegiance, nevertheless, his Freedom of Speech was misrepresented to the King, by some envious Men, who prevailed so far with his Majesty, that dreading the Duke's great Credit, he had a mind to prevent him. It is what *Tbuanus* insinuates very plainly, when he says, *Ad hæc Dicax & in loquendo Liberior, nec deerant qui dicta ab eo sequiùs interpretarentur, & ad Regem malignè deferrent, qui magna se per ejus mortem anxietate liberatum gavisus est; nam Princeps, alioqui à fundendo sanguine alienus, & post Bironi supplicium omnem severitatem exosus, cum tamen Contumelias ab homine invise illatas negligere non posset, agrè sibi ultiones necessitatem impositam dolebat.* Then he adds, *Creditumque est à multis, fato Gentis illustrissime contigisse, ut ipse præmaturè è vivis excederet, ne qui in tantam Regis Indignationem, SEU VERIS, SEU FALSIS Delationibus inciderat, in manus ejus incideret, & indigno suorum gloriâ exitu decus avitum obscuraret.* He died in October 1604, having just begun the 35th Year of his Age.


Age. Some have pretended that he was poisoned, and have charged *Rosni* with it, because having supped with him at his House he fell instantly into Convulsion-Fits, whereof he languished for three Months, and when he seemed to be in a mending way, he was seized again with the same and died. But *Thuanus* tells us positively that he died with the Gout, whereby he was brought to Skin and Bones; he left one Son after him, Heir of his Titles and Estate, but not of his Virtues (*k*).

*THEODORUS AGRIPPA*, Lord of *Aubigne*, Son of *John D' Aubigné*, Lord of *Brié* in *Xaintonge*, Chancellor to *Jane* Queen of *Navarre*, &c. &c. and of Lady *Catherine de Lestang*, was born at *St. Maury* near *Lons* in *Xaintonge*, the 8th of *February* 1550. He was a Man very extraordinary in all his Life, whether we do consider him, either in his Childhood, or in his Youth, or in his Manhood, or in his Old Age. As to his Childhood, he tells us himself, that being but six Years old he could read *French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew*; that being but seven Years and a half, he translated the *Crito* of *Plato*; that a Year after his Father brought him to *Paris*, and put him under the Care of *Matthew Beroalde*, a very learned Man, Nephew to the renowned *Vatable*; that a few Years after, the Prince of *Condé* having seized upon *Orleans*, and the Persecution raging against the Reformed, he and his Preceptor *Beroalde*, with his Family made their Escape out of *Paris*, but were arrested upon the Road by a Party commanded by the Chevalier *D' Achon*, who delivered them into the Hands of one *Demobarés*, a cruel Inquisitor, who condemned them

X 2

(*k*) *Thuanus*, lib. lxxxii, p. 131. *Benoit*, Tom. 1, Liv. I. III. V. IX.



Henry IV. them all to be burnt ; that they were miracu-  
 1598. lously, as one may say, delivered, by *Accon*  
*Pope Cle-* himself, the Eve of their Execution. He says,  
*ment VIII*  that on that Occasion he never cried, save only  
 when they took from him a little Sword which  
 he had by his Side ; and that being told that  
 he and his Company would be burnt the next  
 Day, if they did not instantly recant, he  
 answered, *That the Dread he had for the Mass,*  
*was greater than what he had for Fire.* That  
 about five Weeks after being arrived at *Or-*  
*leans*, where his Father was, he was seized with  
 the Plague that raged in that City ; during  
 which, his Father made a Journey into *Gui-*  
*enne* ; that at his Return, he found him per-  
 fectly well recovered as to his Health, but a  
 little given up to Debauchery, for which having  
 been punished, he was forgiven, but he re-  
 lapsed during the Siege. His Father being dead  
 at *Amboise* a few Months after the first Peace,  
*D'Aubigné* continued his Studies under *Beroalde*  
 for a Year longer ; and being thirteen Years  
 old, his Tutor sent him to the Academy at  
*Geneva* ; that being too severely handled by  
 his Masters there, he ran away two Years after,  
 and went to *Lyons*, where he was reduced to  
 great Straits for want of Money. At the Be-  
 ginning of the second Civil War, he went back  
 into *Xaintonge* to his Tutor's House, and ob-  
 stinately refusing to go on with his Studies,  
 shewing a very strong Inclination for following  
 the Profession of Arms, his said Tutor thought  
 himself in Duty bound to reclaim him, if it  
 was possible, for which end he kept him in  
 Prison for a long while, and had his Clothes  
 brought into his own Chamber in the Night-  
 time. But all his Precautions were in vain,  
 young *D'Aubigné* made his Escape : The third  
 Civil

Civil War breaking out, some young Men of Henry IV. his Acquaintance promised to call for him as they should pass by the House, wherein he was; they were as good as their Word, and the Prisoner with the Help of his Bed-Sheets got down bare-foot, and having nothing else upon him but his Shirt, he followed the Company with great ado, and had Occasion one or two Days after to make proof of his undaunted Courage and Resolution. Such were the first Beginnings of the most renowned *D'Aubigné*; whereby it appears that if he gave early Proofs of his Capacity, he gave no less of an exceeding Unruliness and Stubbornness which influenced his Actions for the three first Parts of his Life. He was extremely violent and cruel in his Youth, as he himself confess'd in the History of his Life, written by himself, and he tells us further, that had it not been for the vast quantity of Blood that he lost in a Quarrel which a Gentleman had picked with him, when he was about 22 Years old, he could not have lived long, nor reformed his Manners, for the great Petulancy and Fierceness of his Temper. He entered as Esquire of the King of *Navarre* in 1574, while his Majesty was Prisoner at Court; but his Rudeness and Roughness put an Obstacle to his Advancement, at least to such a one as his Services, his great Courage and other good Qualifications entitled him to. He was very zealous for his Religion, and what he says upon that Subject is very remarkable. When his Father brought him first to *Paris*, they took their Way through *Amboise*, and observing upon a Gibbet, the Heads of several Gentlemen of his Acquaintance which had been lately executed for the *Amboisian Plot*, he told his Son, *My Son,*

1598.  
Pope Clement VIII

Henry IV. *thou must never spare thine Head, after mine,*  
 1598. *for revenging those most honourable Chiefs; if*  
 Pope Cle- *thou doest otherwise, I do curse thee.* He was  
 meh. VIII

made Governor of *Maillezais*, in 1588. He was very free with the King, which Freedom exceeding the due Bounds, exposed him several times to the Resentment of his Master. The Reformed Churches of *Poitou*, thoroughly acquainted with the Firmness of his Soul, his Capacity, and his Incorruptibility, chose him for one of their Deputies to the Assembly above-mentioned, and the said Assembly named him to be one of the four, to whom the digesting of the Edict was committed. At last, having fallen into Disgrace with the Court, who had given Orders to arrest him wherever he could be found, he retired to *Geneva*, in 1620, where he died the 29th of *April* 1630, being eighty Years old. The Lady of *Maintenon*, so much renowned in the Reign of *Lewis XIV.* was his Grand-Daughter. He wrote an Universal History of his own Times; the Memoirs of his Life; the Adventures of *Baron De Fœneste*; and the Confession of *Sanci*, and some others. The first, the third, and the last were published in his own Time, and his History occasioned his Disgrace. As to the Memoirs of his Life, they have been published since his Death (1).

Of the

Revd. Mr.  
Chamier.

The Revd. Mr. *DANIEL CHAMIER* was born at *Montelimar* in *Dauphiné*, and was for a long time Minister of that Place; I refer the Reader to what I say of that Learned Man, under the Year 1621, when he was killed at the Siege of *Montauban*. And now I must resume

(1) See *Vie D'Aubigné écrite par luy-même*, which makes the first Part of the 1st Vpl. *Des Aventures du Baron de Fœneste*.

resume the Sequel of this History, and consider Henry IV.  
 first, the Effects of that famous Treaty made 1598.  
 between the King and his Reformed Subjects. Pope Cle-  
 ment VIII

The Edict being thus decreed did not allay, CIV.  
 all of a sudden, the general Discontents. When How the  
 it was brought into the Provinces, many Peo- Edict was  
 ple over-nice, found that several things had received  
 been omitted, others ill-explained, others trou- in the Pro-  
 blefome, which the Reformed had less reason vinces.  
 to be contented with than the Catholicks. The  
 Delay of the Verification made them very un-  
 easy. And all the Duke of *Bouillon's* Interest,  
 who had taken upon him to engage them to  
 Patience, was not sufficient to silence every one.  
 But the Court made use of several Means to  
 bring them to that Submission which she de-  
 sired. She had her Emissaries in all Places,  
 who knew how to vary their Arguments and  
 Remonstrances according to the Genius and  
 Temper of those with whom they conversed.  
 With some they put a great Value upon the  
 King's private Promises, and remonstrated, that  
 in his present Circumstances he could not do  
 better for them for fear of offending the Ca-  
 tholicks; but that having given them his Word,  
 they might depend upon it, that for the future,  
 he would go even beyond their Expectation.  
 To some others they gave to understand that  
 the King was still of their Religion in his  
 Heart; and indeed, tho' all his outward Ap-  
 pearances were Catholick, it is certain that at  
 this time his secret Devotions relished still of  
 the *Reformed*, and had every day in his Mouth,  
 when he was with his most intimate Confidants,  
 those Passages of Scripture, especially of the  
*Psalms*, which the Reformed know very well  
 how to apply to every Accident of Life. Many  
 Reformed believed this very heartily, and pitied

Henry IV. the Fate of their Prince, who was obliged to live  
 1598. under such a Restraint; and it was very easy  
 Pope Cle- to win them over, and make them sit down  
 ment VIII contented with the present, in a sure Expecta-  
 tion of a better Condition for the future. With some others easy to be frightened, they magnified the King's great Power and happy Success; they represented how formidable he began to make himself both at home and abroad, being in a Condition to command Respect from Foreigners, and to force Submission and Obedience from his own Subjects of either Denomination, &c. But the most refined of all the Court's Artifices, was to frighten out of their Wits those who dared to vent their Discontents, by sending for them to Court, in order to account for murmuring Words, which they had uttered, or for the violent Counsels they had given, and then to lull them with a thousand Caresses, instead of treating them with Severity; and after having loaded them with fair Promises, to send them home somewhat tamed and mollify'd, ready to believe themselves, and to persuade others, that the best Course they could take, was to comply with the King's Pleasure.

CV. In the mean time, the fifteenth National  
 The fif- Synod was held at *Montpelier*, the 26th of  
 teenth na- May; The Reverend Mr. *Berault*, Minister of  
 tional Sy- *Montauban* was chosen Moderator. Their  
 nod. principal Business was to draw up a State of the Churches; they examined how many there were in every Province, and having cast up the Number, they amounted in all to seven hundred and sixty. But then it is to be observed, 1<sup>o</sup>. That in that Number were reckon- ed only those of an old standing, and not those which were to be settled according to the

the Edict for having had divine Service performed in the Places where they were situated in 1596, and to the Month of *August* inclusive-ly in 1597, because they were not settled as yet. 2<sup>o</sup>. The Churches which had been dispersed during the Wars, were not comprehended in that Number, because they were not as yet restored. 3<sup>o</sup>. That many of these Churches named in the List, had one or more other Churches annexed to them, which went under the Name of the principal Place where the Minister resided. To return to the Synod, they made the first Distribution of the Money granted by the King's Warrant for the Support of the Ministry, and there was a Division of a hundred and thirty thousand Livres among the Provinces.

Henry IV.  
1598.  
Pope Clement VIII

Then they considered what could have obliged the General Assembly of *Chatelheraud* to depart so freely from the Pretensions of the Churches whereof they were the Representatives, to content themselves with an Edict such as they had obtained: No better Reason could be found out, but the Disunion and Misunderstanding amongst the Members. But it was more easy to declaim against the Disease than to cure it; therefore they resolved only, that for the future, the Union subscribed and sworn at *Mantes*, should be better and more strictly kept and observed than ever, that so the Articles of this Edict might be performed, and all other things necessary for their Preservation, under their Obedience to his Majesty, and to his Edicts.

Then they took Cognizance of certain Schemes for re-uniting the Reformed with the *Roman* Catholicks. Many Busy-Bodies there were at that time amongst the Reformed, and amongst

Henry IV. amongst the Catholicks, who out of private  
 1598. Views, went about to persuade the World that  
 Pope Cle- the Difference between the two Religions were  
 ment VIII not so wide or essential that they should be irre-  
 conciliable: Several Books and Pamphlets had  
 been published upon that Subject, whereat the  
 Churches of *Geneva*, *Berne*, *Basil*, and of the  
*Palatinate* took Offence, and wrote to the pre-  
 sent Synod, who having taken the Matter un-  
 der their Consideration, they passed Sentence  
 against such Books and Pamphlets, as contain-  
 ing several erroneous Propositions.

They likewise took Cognizance of the in-  
 tended Marriage of MADAME, Sister to the  
 King, with the Prince of *LORRAIN*, at the  
 Request of the said Princess, and declared it ut-  
 terly unlawful, because the Prince was a Catho-  
 lick, and the Princess a Reformed, and that it  
 should not be permitted in any of their  
 Churches, and all Ministers were enjoined  
 carefully to observe this Article on pain of  
 being suspended, or even deposed. I shall  
 speak presently of this Marriage,

They next debated upon the erecting and  
 settling two Universities, one at *Saumur*, and  
 the other at *Montauban*, and two Colleges of  
 Divinity, one at *Nimes*, the other at *Montpe-  
 lier*; and for the Maintenance of these Settle-  
 ments they appropriated the third Part of the  
 Money granted by the King's Warrant for  
 the Support of the Churches.

Another Affair, which they took under their  
 Consideration, was the Lord of *Lesdiguieres'*  
 Conduct. The Province of *Languedoc* had  
 raised a Sum of 17,760 Crowns, which they  
 had sent to *Geneva*, to be laid up in Stock for  
 the Maintenance of their Students in Divinity;  
*Lesdiguieres*, who, at this time, minded nothing  
 so

so much as to heap up Riches, seized upon this Sum, under pretence that it had been raised contrary to Law, and without the King's Licence: And, that he might have some specious Title to detain it, he had procured his Majesty's Grant of that Sum; notwithstanding which, this present Synod judged that Appropriation unjust and unlawful, and ordered that Remonstrances should be made to *Lesdiguieres* upon the Heinousness of such a Proceeding of his, and that he was bound in Honour and Conscience to restore the said Sum, and to see it laid out according to its primitive Intention. They decreed further, that if he refused to yield to Reason, he should be sued at Law in the Chamber of *Castres*. But tho' Commissaries were sent unto him upon that Subject, who endeavoured to touch his Conscience, he was insensible: So that after many Years, and several Importunities, they had much ado to get him to restore some Part. By this it may be judg'd, that if he persevered in the Reformed Religion for several Years longer, it was not out of Principle of Conscience, but out of Self-Interest?— But more of him in another Place.

Then the Synod having approved the Acts passed in the Assembly of *Chatelheraud*, ended their Sessions in *June (m)*.

The Treaty between the two Kings of *France*, and *Spain*, was on foot, since the Beginning of 1597; the taking of *Amiens* had interrupted it, but that City having been retaken, *Villeroy* on the King's side, and *John Richardot* on the Archduke's, and consequently on King *Philip's*, had an Interview together upon the Frontiers of *Picardy* and *Artois*, and agreed

Henry IV.  
1598.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

CVI.  
Peace of  
Vervins.

(m) Quick Synodicon, Aymon Synodes Nationaux.



Henry IV. agreed that the two Kings should send their  
 1598. Plenipotentiaries to *Vervins*, where the Pope's  
 Pope Cle- Legate was to assist in quality of Mediator.  
 ment VIII

The two Kings were equally desirous of a Peace, *Henry* because he was tired with the War, and was afraid lest by some unlucky Turn he should lose the Fruit of his past Labours; and *Philip* sensible of his dying Condition, and of the Weakness of the Prince his Son and Successor, was unwilling to leave his Kingdom embroiled in a War with such a Prince as *Henry* was. Such being the real Dispositions of the two Tenants, their Ministers proceeded with a greater Sincerity and Diligence than usual. *Pompone de Believre*, and *Nicolas Bruslard de Sillery*, were named Plenipotentiaries of *France*, and the Arch-Duke being empowered by the King of *Spain*, named *John Richardot*, President of the Catholick King's Council in the *Low-Countries*, *John Baptist Tassis*, Knight of *St. James*, and Auditor *Lewis Vereiken*, first Secretary and Treasurer of the Council of State.

They met together at *Vervins*, in *February* 1598, and after some Debates about the Ceremonial, and other Points concerning the Allies of the two Crowns; they signed the Treaty on the 2d of *May*, and put it into the hands of the Legate, desiring him to keep it secret, till the two Months of Cessation of Arms granted to the Allies of the Crown of *France*, should be expired. During that Negotiation, Queen *Elizabeth*, and the States of *Holland*, had sent their Embassadors to the King, to persuade his Majesty to continue the War, they met the Court at *Angers*, and followed it to *Nantz*; but notwithstanding all their Instances, Intreaties and Offers, *Henry* could not  
 be

be deterred from his Resolution; and indeed Henry IV. after so long and cruel a War, whereby the Kingdom had been brought upon the Brink of its Ruin, was it reasonable to require that the King should reject the honourable Terms proposed unto him, that he should miss a fair Opportunity for restoring the Realm into its former Splendour? Therefore it was agreed only that his Majesty should pay to the *States of Holland* at different times stipulated, the large Sums of Money for which he was indebted to the Queen of *England*, for helping the said *States* to carry on the War against *Spain*; besides what the said King owed to the States, which he promised to pay in the same Manner: Furthermore, he promised not to ratify the Treaty, till forty Days after it had been signed by the Plenipotentiaries. So on the 12th of *June*, the Peace was proclaimed, and on the 21st, it was sworn by the King at *Paris*, in *our Lady's Church*. It was sworn likewise at *Bruxelles* by the *Arch-Duke*, the 26th of the same Month. And by the Duke of *Savoy*, at *Chambery*, the 2d of *August*. It had been agreed in the Conference at *Ver-vins*, ' That, as to the Differences which ' subsisted between the King and that Prince, ' concerning the Marquisate of *Saluces*, which ' the said Duke had usurped in 1588, the *Pope* ' should be the only Judge of these Differen- ' ces; That his Holiness should decide them ' in a Year; That if he chanced to die be- ' fore that time, after his Death there would ' be a Truce for three Months, during which ' the two Parties should agree upon other Um- ' pires; That without any further Delay, the ' Duke should restore to the King the Town ' of *Berre* in *Provence*; and disown the At-  
tempt

Henry IV.  
1598.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

Henry IV. 'tempt of Captain *La Fortune*, who had seized  
 1598. ' *Seure* in *Burgundy*; that the Duke should  
 Pope Cle- ' observe an exact Neutrality between the two  
 ment VIII ' Kings of *France* and *Spain*.' King *Philip* II.  
 ~~~~~ signed the Treaty of *Vervins*, but his Death  
 prevented him from swearing upon it. So  
 Peace was settled at home and abroad, at  
 least for some time, through the Constancy,  
 Courage, and Prudence of *HENRY THE*  
*GREAT*.

CVII. King *Philip* II. did not long enjoy the  
 King Phi- Sweetness of Peace, for he died at the *Escorial*,  
 lip's the 13th of *September*, being 72 Years old,  
 Death. whereof he had reigned 42 Years and nine  
 Months since the Abdication of his Father  
*Charles* V. For above 15 Months before, he  
 had been seized with an hectic Fever, which  
 wasted him; when he was seized with a violent  
 Fit of the Gout, on *St. John's Eve*, the Acrimo-  
 ny of the Humours produced Abscesses, which  
 broke out first at the Knee, then at several Pla-  
 ces of his Body, from whence a Swarm of Lice  
 issued out, which could not be drained, with  
 several other Diseases. The purulent Matter  
 issuing from his Ulcers, exhaled such a Stink,  
 that the Servants which attended him were in-  
 fected by it, he was insupportable to himself,  
 and he died amidst the bitterest Pains. Such was  
 the lamentable End of a Prince, which may be  
 set up as a Pattern of the most boundless Am-  
 bition, for gratifying which, he not only  
 spared no Cost, but was guilty of the blackest  
 of Crimes, Perfidiousness, Perjury, Treason;  
 Poisoning, Murdering, &c. But let us hear him  
 himself, speaking to his Son in the last Days  
 of his Life: 'Abusing of my Prosperity, says  
 ' *he*, I soon forgot the wise and wholesome  
 ' Instructions of the Emperor my Father, and  
 ' gave

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 23.

gave way to all the extravagant Projects of Henry IV. an unbridled Ambition, . . . . and now I am obliged to own, forced to it by the Truth of things, and the Success thereof far different from what I expected: That after having coveted the Empire possessed by my Uncle *Ferdinand*, endeavoured by several Cabals and under-hand Dealings, to force him to name me King of the *Romans*, instead of his own Son *Maximilian*; aspired to be declared Emperor of the *New-World*, to usurp *Italy*, to subdue my rebellious Subjects of the *Low-Countries*, to get the Crown of *Ireland*, to invade *England* by the Means of that great and formidable *Armada*, in fitting out of which, I was about six Years, and laid out above TWENTY MILLIONS OF DUCATS; to do the same with the Kingdom of *France*, by the Means of the secret Intelligences (which I bought very dear) which I did keep with the highest and most ambitious Spirits of that Kingdom, on pretence of the then reigning King's Laziness, and of the Civil Wars of Religion, which I had kindled and took care to foment by the Means of Clergymen my Pensioners, and after having spent in the Execution of these Schemes 32 Years of my Life, and above SIX HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DUCATS, in extraordinary Expences, the Account whereof you will find amongst my secret Papers written with my own Hand; after having occasioned the Murder and Death of above *twenty Millions* of People, of all Ranks, Sex, and Age, the Destruction and Depopulation of many more Provinces, and of a larger Extent of Land, than I do possess in *Europe*, all what I have got after so many Labours, is no more than  
the

Henry IV. 'the small Kingdom of *Portugal*, &c (n).' This  
 1598. don't require any Commentary, *habemus reum*  
*Pope Cle-*  
*ment VII* *confitentem*; and now let the Wit, Sagacity,  
 ~~~~~ Prudence, and Religion of that Prince be  
 extolled to the Skies, as he made all these  
 Qualifications subservient only to the Execu-  
 tion of his wicked and pernicious Designs, they  
 cannot be considered but as so many Swords in  
 the Hands of a Madman; his Religion was  
 but Hypocrisy, his Constancy in his last Sick-  
 ness was but a Hard-heartedness against the  
 heaviest Judgments of God. He was short of  
 Stature, his Limbs were well compacted, of  
 a grave Countenance and Mien, his Hair yel-  
 lowish, of a strong and healthy Constitution.  
 He was succeeded by his Son *Philip III.* who  
 was in the twentieth Year of his Age.

It was in this Year that *Du Plessis* published  
 his Book about Mass, whereof I shall speak  
 under the Year 1600.

1599. One of the sixteen Conditions imposed by  
 CVIII. the *Pope* upon the King, when he received  
*Marriage* the Absolution, was, that he should engage  
*of Madame* the Princess his Sister to turn Catholick, and  
*Sister to* to marry her with a Catholick Prince. Ac-  
*the King.* cordingly his Majesty endeavoured to per-  
 suade his Sister to follow his Example; but his  
 Attempts proved fruitless; no Temptation was  
 strong enough to prevail over the Constancy  
 of the Princess, she was stedfast in her Religion.  
 It was more easy for him to gain the other  
 Point; her Royal Highness thought it a Duty  
 incumbent on her, to yield to the King's De-  
 sire, to overcome her Scruples and receive  
 Henry,

(n) *Memoires De Sully*, Tom. I. pag. 420. 21, &c.  
*Thuan.* Lib. cxx. pag. 791, &c. *D'Aubigné Hist. Uni-*  
*verselle*, Tom. III. Liv. V. ch. 18. These two last allow  
 him but 40 Years of Reign, and *D'Aubigné*, but 60 Years  
 of Age.

Henry, Duke of Bar, Son to Charles, Duke of Heary IV. Lorraine, for her Husband. There were two Years <sup>1599.</sup> gone since that Treaty was on foot; the Pope's <sup>Pope Clement VIII</sup> stiffness, who absolutely refused a Licence, occasioned that long Delay; all the Archbishops and Bishops in *France*, declined to perform the Ceremony, dreading the Pope's Censures. At last Roquelaure, by his Jeerings and Jettings prevailed so far with the Archbishop of Rouën, formerly Bishop of Leytoure, who was the King's Natural Brother, that he consented to do the Ceremony, which was performed in the King's Closet on the last Day of *January*, without waiting for the Pope's Licence. As soon as the Ceremony of giving and receiving the Ring was over, the Duke went one way to hear Mass, and the Princess another to hear a Sermon. She had for her Dowry 60,000 Livres yearly Pension, 300,000 Crowns once paid, and all the Rings and Jewels belonging to the House of *Albret*. After the six first Months were over, she had much to suffer from her Husband, on account of her Religion; for that Prince being gone to *Rome*, in order to get, what they call the Pardons or Indulgences, in the next Jubilee-Year, the Pope would not admit him to any publick Audience; nor suffer him to assist at any publick Ceremony; but granted him Absolution in private; and upon Condition that he should divorce his Consort if she persisted in her Religion; so that at his Return, she lived separately for about two Years. She was near forty Years old, when she was married, and had been sued for by several great Princes, such as James King of *Scotland*, who succeeded to *Elizabeth*; the Duke of *Savoy*; and some others, besides the Count of *Soissons*, for whom she had a strong

Henry IV. Inclination, and the Duke of *Montpensier*; but more of that Princess when I shall relate her Death (o).

<sup>1599.</sup>  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

CIX. While the Court was in their Mirth and Diversions, occasioned by that and three other Marriages, of the Dukes of *Montpensier*, *D'Aiguillon*, Son to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and *Nevers*, the King was bent to have his Edict of *Nantz* verified and registered in the Parliament of *Paris*.

The Edict  
of Nantz,  
&c. re-  
gistered in  
Parlia-  
ment.

The Catholics taking advantage of the Delay of that Verification, endeavoured to subvert it, if they could, or at least to abridge the Concessions granted at *Nantz*. It was attacked by all the Orders of the Kingdom, both before and after the *Legate's* Departure. The Clergy, the *Parliaments*, the *University*, the *Sorbonne*, started all the Difficulties imaginable. The *Sorbonne* refused to consent that the Reformed should take their Degrees amongst them. The *University* would not receive them in their Colleges, nor admit them either to be Masters of Arts, or Professors, or Regents in any Faculty. But the greatest Oppositions came from the Clergy. They had been assembled at *Paris* since *May* last, and made very heavy Complaints by their Deputies to the King; about the Pensions assigned to the Laity upon Benefices, and to the Payment whereof the Incumbents were obliged, either by Writ of Nomination, or by some secret Reservation. The Reformed had a Share in these Favours as well as others, as also in the Trusts; and the Clergy aimed especially at them, under a Pretence which was plausible enough; for it seemed unreasonable that the Hereticks, Enemies to the Ca-

(o) Thuan. Lib. cxx. pag. 787. *Memoires de Sally*, Tom. I. ch. 88.

Catholick Church should enjoy the Revenues Henry IV. 1599. Pope Clement VIII of her Altars. The King consented to one Part of their Demands, but as to the rest, he told them, *That he would act in such a manner, by God's Assistance, that the Church should be in as good a Condition, as it had been a hundred Years before, as well for the Discharge of his Conscience as for their own Satisfaction; but, says he, PARIS was not built in a Day.* The Reformed took very little Notice of these Words, taking them only for a Compliment: But the Catholicks being puffed up by them, took Advantage of it, to make some Attempts to alter the Edict. They demanded, 1°. That in the Provinces on this side the *Loire*, the Reformed should content themselves with having the free Exercise of their Religion in such Places whereof they had made themselves Masters during the War; whereby they would deprive them of the new Possessions granted by the Edict. 2°. That the Exercise of the *Roman* Religion should be restored in those Places where the Reformed were the most powerful; even in their Strong-Holds. 3°. That the Catholicks should be discharged from paying for the Maintenance of the Ministers in those Places held by the Reformed; they made several other Demands, no more, and even less reasonable than these. But they most warmly insisted against the Liberty granted them to hold Synods when they pleased, without being obliged to any Acknowledgement of Dependency, to admit Foreigners, and to send Deputies of their own to Assemblies of like Nature without the Kingdom. *Bertier*, one of the Clergy's Deputies, was very hot upon this Point; he pretended, that such a Liberty without Restriction, gave them an Opportunity of holding a



Henry IV. Correspondence abroad with the Enemies of the State, of making Leagues, and entering into Conspiracies, and of rising in Arms whenever they pleased. He affirmed that *Schomberg*, *Tbuanus*, and even President *Jeannin*, who had concluded the Edict, were but a sort of mungrel Catholicks, meaning by that Name such as were not intoxicated with their Bigotries, and Superstitions; and, if *Sully*, or the Authors of his Memoirs are to be credited, the King upbraided them very severely for having consented to that Article. However, *Bertier* would never desist till he had obtained Assurances that the Edict should be reformed in some of these Articles. The *Parliament* supported his Demands, and set forth that greater Privileges were granted, in that respect, to the Reformed than to the Catholicks, and that the Reformed ought, at least, to beg Leave to assemble, and to admit Foreigners in their Assemblies. They opposed likewise the Erection of a mixt Chamber at *Paris*; and revived the old Query, Whether they were capable of holding any Office; and several Writings were published on both sides upon that Subject.

The General Assembly at *Chatelberaud*, that waited for the Verification of the Edict, were hard at work for preventing the Mischiefs which those Oppositions might produce, and sent frequent Deputations to Court for that purpose. The King, being desirous to bring things to pass with Mildness, was much perplexed at these Obstructions, he knew not how to get clear of these Difficulties without giving somebody an Occasion to complain, he made use of all his Prudence to bring them to Reason by all fair Means: But sometimes he spoke to them as a Master, whenever the Parliament

ex-

exceeded the Bounds of Respect; and when they proposed to make some secret Reservations, not to admit the Reformed to Offices in the inferior Courts of Justice; and nevertheless, to verify the Article whereby they were declared capable of holding them, the King told them with some Indignation; *I don't think it fair, to intend one thing and write another; and if there be any of my Predecessors who have done it, I will never do the same: Deceit is odious among all Men; more especially among Princes, whose Words ought always to be unalterable.*

Henry IV.  
1599.  
Pope Clement VIII

At last, tho' the Reformed had much abated of their general Pretensions, by accepting the Edict such as it had been given at *Nantz*, they condescended still, to forego several other Articles, which were highly contested. Marshal of *Bouillon* gave his Consent, and *Du Plessis* himself enjoined the Revd. Mr. *Beraud*, one of the Deputies of the Assembly, to come to an Agreement upon the Articles which were in debate: They obtained that there should be no Limitation of the Liberty as to the free Exercise, nor in the Article concerning Offices and Employments. But, at the Request of the University, the King granted that the Reformed should hold no Office in it which might authorise them to dogmatise upon Religion, and that they should be admitted into Regencies, Professorships in all other Faculties but that of Divinity. And indeed, I don't know how to blame that Resolution, tho' contrary to an Article agreed at *Nantz*. For what a greater Absurdity can be, than for a Society of Divines to admit as one of their Members, a Man who either in Faith or Wor-

Henry IV. ship, holds Opinions quite contrary to those received in the said Society of Divines ?

1599.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

The King refused the Clergy only the first of the three Articles above-mentioned, and promised them Satisfaction upon the two others. He limited the Liberty of Synods, and leaving the Reformed the appointing of the Time and Place, he obliged them only to address themselves to him for Leave to assemble, and even that Obligation was considerably mitigated afterwards during his Reign. Some other Alterations were agreed upon concerning the Chambers of the Edict, and other Courts of Judicature to be erected in behalf of the Reformed. But, notwithstanding all these Condescensions, the Parliament continued to thwart the King's good Intentions, and his Majesty was obliged to send for them to the *Louvre*, where he let them know his Will and Pleasure in a very pathetick Speech, shewing forth the Necessity of granting reasonable Terms to the Reformed, in order to enjoy Peace at home, as they did abroad. ‘ When you see me, *says he*, coming  
‘ to confer with you, not with a royal Attire  
‘ and Pomp, nor with that Apparel of Princes  
‘ when they admit Embassadors to their Audience ; but in an usual Dress, in Slippers,  
‘ and without a Sword, don't you think you see  
‘ and hear a Father talking and conversing with  
‘ his own Children. ? I, by the Will of God,  
‘ have been the Arbitrator of War and Peace,  
‘ I have experienced the first at my Peril, that  
‘ I might embrace the second to your greater  
‘ Advantage ; this I don't propose unto you  
‘ with the *Spaniards*, and others, ancient Enemies of the Kingdom, but with your own  
‘ Countrymen, and amongst yourselves. What!  
‘ Shall I have made Peace with the Enemies  
‘ to

' to have War at home? Let not the Clamours Henry IV.  
 ' of the Seditious, who separate human from 1599.  
 ' divine Peace, move you; they seek only some Pope Cle-  
 ' Pretence to excuse their Factions, and to co- ment VIII  
 ' ver their Inclinations to foment Troubles and  
 ' Confusions. We say every Day in our Pray-  
 ' ers, GIVE US PEACE, O GOD, IN OUR DAYS.  
 ' Religion stands by Peace, Peace strengthens  
 ' the Laws, he who desires, who prefers a cruel  
 ' War, is without Religion, without Justice,  
 ' without Law.—The Disputes about Reli-  
 ' gion are kindled by Arms, Concord and  
 ' Union amongst Countrymen is requisite to  
 ' extinguish them.—Those who have separa-  
 ' ted from us, don't consider the Tortures  
 ' and other Penalties inflicted upon them, on  
 ' account of their Religion, as a Judgment of  
 ' God upon them, but as an Effect of the  
 ' Hatred of their Enemies. Don't you know  
 ' that? What then have we improved by those  
 ' dreadful Calamities of so many Years? But  
 ' now I assume upon you the Right of a Father  
 ' over his Children; it is the Duty of a Father  
 ' to advise his Children, to re-call those who  
 ' are fallen into Madness, or act imprudently,  
 ' or go astray through Ignorance, and to in-  
 ' struct them by wholesome Counsels.—You  
 ' have found me a very lucky General during  
 ' the War: Now hearken to a very prudent  
 ' King in Peace, that, I beg of you, I intreat  
 ' you. You are indebted to me for your For-  
 ' tunes, Lives, and Dignities, I have restored  
 ' them to you by my Valour and Courage. If  
 ' you desire to keep them and transmit them  
 ' safe to your Posterity, entertain the Peace  
 ' given by me. To Prayers and Counsels, I  
 ' add a Command, which Authority God Al-  
 ' mighty has given me, to compel the Disobe-  
 ' dient.

Henry IV. <sup>1599.</sup> Pope Clement VIII. dient. I don't value those Preachers, nor other Trumpeters of Seditions of the same kind, resounding to the Ears of a frantick Mob. I, who have been always at the head of my Armies, in the midst of Swords and Fires; I, who so many times have exposed myself in the Sieges, with an undaunted Courage, to the Cannon-Shots, should I be frightened, either by Janglers in the Pulpits, or Brawlers in the Cross-ways, or Fences made with Hogsheds full of Earth in the Streets and publick Places? Pray don't remember that melancholy Day so shameful to the *French* Nation, wherein Royal Majesty, which had been abused before with opprobrious Language in this City, was even assaulted at last with open Force? Or, if you do remember that Day, remember at the same time, that I, who have been always invincible in all the Battles, had it been my case, I would not easily yield to an outrageous, cowardly Mob; and as to the *Barricadoes*, either I would not tamely have suffered them to be erected, or the Thing being done, I would have destroyed them instantly. . . . . Then, he spoke of the good Harmony that subsisted between him and the *Pope*, and his Legate, and of the Nature of the Edict, which he willeth to have published without any farther Delay, and which he calls his own; as *Henry III.* called that of 1577, *his own Edict*. Then he goes on, 'It remains, *says he*, that what I do command, I have done after the Example of my Predecessors, what I have resolved after a mature Consultation, that you should receive and embrace as just and equitable, and that you should take the Duke of *Mayenne* for a Pattern.

‘ That Prince, formerly the Head of the League, Henry IV.  
 ‘ has no sooner been received into my Favour, <sup>1599.</sup>  
 ‘ but tho’ he has been strongly solicited and <sup>Pope Cle-</sup>  
 ‘ intreated by the Factious and Seditious, to <sup>ment VIII</sup>  
 ‘ improve the Opportunity of the present  
 ‘ Edict for renewing the Troubles, he has con-  
 ‘ stantly refused to consent, saying that he was  
 ‘ so much beholden unto me, that he could  
 ‘ not without a great Crime, defile himself  
 ‘ again with fomenting Parties and Factions in  
 ‘ the Kingdom, &c. And you, you whose  
 ‘ Fidelity has never been fickle and wavering  
 ‘ during the Wars, what becomes you to do in  
 ‘ Peace? Shall you disobey now this whole-  
 ‘ some Command? After having so faithfully  
 ‘ obeyed me amidst the Uncertainties of  
 ‘ Times and Things? If any one has any  
 ‘ Scruple, if any one is still at a Stand, thro’  
 ‘ fear of Danger, leave that to my Piety and  
 ‘ Prudence, and be persuaded that this Edict,  
 ‘ so subtly canvassed, is given, not so much  
 ‘ for making sure the Peace with the Reform-  
 ‘ ed, as for not being obliged to renew War  
 ‘ amongst us.’

Every one was moved by the King’s Speech,  
 and President *Coqueley*, tho’ formerly a most  
 violent Leaguer, having spoken in the Parliam-  
 ent to the same purpose, after some Debates  
 it was at last resolved that the Edict should  
 be verify’d and registered with the Restrictions  
 and Amendments agreed upon on both sides,  
 which was accordingly done, on the 25th of  
*February* (p).

The Edict was no sooner published, but a CX  
 very odd Thing happened, which vexed the <sup>A Cheat</sup>  
 King, <sup>of the Cler-</sup>  
 gy.

(p) Thuan. lib. cxxii. pag. 860.—864. Mem. de Sulli,  
 Tom. I. chap. lxxxix. Vie de Du Plessis Mornay, liv. ii.  
 p. 255. Hist. de l’Edit. de Nantes, Tom. I. Liv. vi.

Henry VI. King, and occasioned a great Disturbance in  
 1599. several Parts of the Kingdom. Many factious  
*Pope Cle-*  
*ment VIII* People, who pretended to be much offended at  
 the Advantages granted to the Reformed, and  
 sought but an Opportunity for renewing the  
 Troubles, laid hold of this with great Eager-  
 ness. *James Brosier*, born at *Romorantin*, a  
 Man of mean Extraction, who loathed to get  
 his Bread by his honest Labour, chose to get  
 it by rambling from one Place to another; like  
 Gipsies, he took with him his three Daughters,  
*Martha*, *Silvine*, and *Mary*; *MARTHA* feign-  
 ed to be possessed with the Devil, they travelled  
 through all the Cities and Boroughs upon the  
 Banks of the *Loire*, to the great Astonishment  
 of a vast Multitude of People who flocked to  
 see her. The Monks of *Orleans* and *Clery*,  
 being assembled to examine that Affair, in  
*March* and *September* before, had forbidden all  
 Priests of that Diocese to exorcise the pre-  
 tended Demoniac on pain of Excommunica-  
 tion. Being come to *Angers*, *Charles Miron*,  
 Bishop of the Place, was willing to examine the  
 Wench, before he should proceed to Exorcism;  
 he admitted her to his Table, and caused holy  
 Water to be given to her as common Water,  
 which she drank without any Motion; then he  
 sent for common Water, and told her that it  
 was holy Water, whereupon she feigned to fall  
 into Convulsion-Fits: Whereat the Bishop be-  
 gan to suspect the Cheat, and in order to be  
 fully certify'd thereof, he ordered, loudly, one  
 of his Servants to fetch him the Book of Ex-  
 orcism, and feigning to read therein, he uttered  
 the first Verse of the *Æneis*, at the hearing  
 whereof, she made most horrible Contorsions,  
 just as if the Devil tormented her. Which the  
 wise Bishop seeing, he dismissed her instantly,  
 and

and advised her Father to take her home, and Henry IV. not to impose any longer upon the People. <sup>1599.</sup> But instead of obeying, he brought her to *Paris*, <sup>Pope Clement VIII</sup> where the wisest Sort of People guessed rightly, that it was an Artifice intended for renewing the Troubles; for the Wench talked of nothing else in her pretended Fits, but of the Reformed, of the Edict, of the Toleration, of countenanced Heresy. Whereby it was very plain, that this Comedy was the Work of a Cabal. Nevertheless, the Party of those who countenanced and supported the Cheat, either thro' Wickedness or thro' Superstition, was so great, that the Legislature durst not take the Course which that deceitful Creature and her Father deserved. The *Capuchines*, whose Reputation is grounded only upon an Affectation of outward Mortification, and who, for the most part, are grossly ignorant and zealous to the last degree, for the lowest and silliest Bigotries, were the first who took possession of this Wretch, and caused her to be exorcised. *Gondy*, Bishop of *Paris*, suspecting some Cheat, caused her first to be examined by Physicians; a single one, namely, *Duret*, asserted that she was really possessed; against the Opinion of all his Colleagues, especially *Marescot*, who affirmed the contrary. Nevertheless, the Matter went so far, that the most sober were afraid lest a Sedition should be the Consequence thereof. Therefore the King, who was then at *Fontainebleau*, by the Advice of his most trusty Counsellors, sent Orders to his Parliament to take Cognizance of the whole Affair, to interpose their Authority and oppose these tumultuous Assemblies. Accordingly they decreed that *Martha* should be put into the hands of a Magistrate to be strictly examined by expert Physicians.



Henry IV. Physicians and others of the Faculty, and to  
 1599.  
 Pope Cle- deliver their Opinion in a Month's time. Which  
 ment VIII Order was executed, and having been visited for  
 forty Days together by fifteen of the most expert either Physicians or others, they unanimously certified under their Hands, that they found nothing extraordinary in the Girl, and she herself confessed her Sins, and received the Sacrament at *Easter*, and from that Time, her Convulsion-Fits were neither so violent, nor so frequent. But for all that, the Murmurings of the People, nor the Roarings of the seditious Preachers did not cease; these last were not ashamed to bawl from the Pulpit, that Ecclesiastical Liberty was forced by the King's Magistrate; that such a Violence was done at the Instigation of the Hereticks, who dreading so fair an Opportunity offered by God himself of manifesting his own Glory, had no other way, than to dazzle the Faithful's Eyes by a formal Denial of Miracles, &c; and that despairing to evince the Truth of their Doctrine by such wonderful Works, they were afraid lest the lawful Ministers of the true Church should show forth the Efficaciousness of the Word of God, by performing what was impossible for them: and such otherlike Stuff, tending to raise a Sedition amongst the People. The Parliament took cognizance of that Audaciousness, and punished these scandalous Preachers, not indeed as they deserved, but as the Times could permit. Then they decreed that *Martha* with her two Sisters and her Father should be sent back to *Romorantin*, by the Provost of *Paris*, and there put under her own Father's Custody, with a strict Charge not to let her ramble or go out of the Place, without the special Licence of the Judge of that Town, on pain of corporal

poral Punishment to be inflicted on both. That Henry IV. Mildness of the Court served only to encrease <sup>1599.</sup> the Audaciousness of the Guilty. A few Months <sup>Pope Cle- ment VIII</sup> after, *Alexander of La Rochefoucaud*, Abbot of *St. Martin*, of the illustrious House of the Counts of *Randan*, who had been some of the hottest Leaguers, having consulted together, as it was said, with his Brother, Bishop of *Clermont*, as he passed by *Romorantin*, he took *Bossiere*, *Martha*, and *Silvina*, along with him, and brought them to *Auvergne*, taking little notice of two Decrees of the Parliament of *Paris*, whereby he and his Brother were summoned to appear before them at a certain Time, whereto not obeying, they were both deprived of their Temporalities. The King, justly offended at their Disobedience, and understanding that they were going to *Rome*, wrote to *Sillery* his Embassador at that Court, and to Cardinal *D' Ossat*, enjoining them to inform the *Pope* of the whole Affair, before the Abbot and his Company had begun to play their Pranks upon that great Stage, as they had done at *Avignon*, tho' without any considerable Success. They both, but especially *D' Ossat*, managed that Business so dexterously with the *Pope*, and Father *Sirmond*, Secretary to Cardinal *Aquaviva*, General of the Jesuits, that the Abbot finding himself much deceived in his Expectations, was forced to submit to the King, of whom, he most humbly begged pardon, by his Lettter, for himself, and for his Brother the Bishop; and seeing himself despised at the Court of *Rome*, he died a little after with Grief. As to *Brossiere* and his Daughters, they staid at *Rome*, where they lived very miserably, receiving from the Hospitals, a Portion scarce sufficient for their Maintenance; and to compleat the Work;

Henry IV. Work; and to cure perfectly the Minds of the People of *Paris*, the King caused the Letter <sup>1599.</sup> *Clement VIII* which Cardinal *D' Ossat* wrote to him upon that Subject to be read publickly in the Parliament of *Paris*; so ended that irksome Business (q.)

CXI. I will not insist upon another Affair of a higher Nature, which at first seemed that it would be attended with bad Consequences, and came however to nothing; and that is, the Offence that the *Pope* took, or pretended to take, at the publishing of the Edict. He sent for the Cardinals of *Jayeuse* and *D' Ossat*, and feigned to be in a great Passion against the King; nay, he went so far as to threaten to excommunicate him for having been so daring as to publish to his Face, such a CURSED EDICT, which he looked upon as the greatest Affront that he could put upon him, just as if he had made a Scar on his Face; he uttered such other like Expressions, whereat the Cardinals seemed much terrified. But notwithstanding all this Bustle of the *Holy Father*, they found Means to mollify his Heart, and he made it plain enough by his Conduct afterwards, that he was not so angry as he would feign to be, and that he acted only out of Policy, to impose upon the *Spaniards*, who attempted to deprive him, right or wrong, of certain Ecclesiastical Rights which his Predecessors had enjoyed in the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and would have him to desist from his Pretensions, on a Thing which was of a great deal less moment, than what he suffered in *France*, where the King countenanced and openly supported Heresy, publishing such an Edict for the Settlement of Hereticks, notwithstanding

(q) Thuan. lib. cxxiii. pag. 868—875. Lettres D'Ossat, liv. 6. Lettre ccxi. It don't appear by *D'Ossat*, that the Father was with his Daughters at *Rome*.

withstanding the strong Oppositions of the whole Clergy, and of the Parliaments. And indeed, had the *Pope* been so much displeased with that Edict, he had had Time enough to oppose it; he could not be ignorant of what was transacting in *France*, upon that Subject, his own *Legate* had received many Complaints of the contrary Party against the said Edict; through his great Moderation, he had constantly refused to meddle with that Affair: Would he not have supported the Plaintiffs with all his might, had not the *Pope* thought proper to connive at, what he could not hinder? But such was then the Policy of the Court of *Rome*, to wink at things which they cannot hinder when they were a doing, and to thunder against them, when they were done and could not be undone (r.)

However, the *Pope* in his Expostulations with the two Cardinals having upbraided the King with Remissness for the Catholick Religion, because he had done nothing as yet towards the publishing of the Council of *Trent*, and Cardinal *Aldobrandini* having given them to understand, that if his Majesty would cause the said Council to be published in *France*, and the *Roman* Catholick Religion to be restored in his own Dominions of *Bearn*, he would, by such Steps, blot out the Suspicions which the *Pope* entertained concerning his Religion; they wrote to his Majesty on that Subject, and *D' Ossat* especially, insisted warmly, in his Letters to the King and to *Villeroy*, upon the publishing of the said Council; pretending that it could be done with a *Salvo*, as to what concerned the Prerogatives of the Crown of *France*, the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*, the Edicts of Pacification with the *Huguenots*, &c. These two things,

Henry IV.  
1599.  
Pope Clement VIII

CXII.  
*The King's  
fruitless  
Endea-  
vours to  
have the  
Council of  
Trent pub-  
lished.*

(r) Lettres de D'Ossat, Liv. V. Lett. 169. &c.

Henry IV. things, the publishing of the Council; and the restoring of the Mass in *Bearn*, were two of the sixteen Articles whereto the King had consented; when he received his Absolution.

1599.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

Therefore he set himself to work, for executing his Promise: But all his Endeavours proved fruitless as to the first Point, the Parliament of *Paris* opposed that Publishing, with all their might; so that after several warm Debates, the King himself yielded to the Solidity of their Arguments.

CXIII. He was more successful as to the Restoring of the Mass in *Bearn*. It had been banished out of that Principality about thirty Years before, by *Jane*, Queen of *Navarre*, the King's Mother, with the unanimous Consent of the States of that Country; and, notwithstanding that Prince's Order; after the Massacre in 1572, it had not been restored ever-since that Time. Now, his Majesty had a mind at first to have the Catholick Religion restored in that Country; upon the same footing as it was in *France*, that is to say, that the Catholick should be the National Church; but upon *Du Plessis's* and *Calignon's* Remonstrances, he quite altered his Scheme, and gave the Catholicks of *Bearn* no more than what he had given to the Reformed in *France*. The chief Reason, whereby *Du Plessis* moved him to it was, that if he did restore fully the Catholick Clergy in that Country; he utterly ruined the Reformed, and loaded heavily his own Exchequer; for he would be obliged to pay out of it, the Salaries of the Parliament of *Pau*, of his Chamber of Accounts, his Garisons, his Militia, his Artillery; and other necessary Charges of the State, which were then taken out of the Church Lands, and other Ecclesiastical Revenues, which had been forfeited

forfeited under the late Queen. His Majesty Henry IV. being moved by these Considerations, appointed only some Places in certain Parishes where the Catholics might perform their religious Services, and settled a Pension for the Bishops of *Lescar* and *Oleron*. The *Bearnese* receiv'd and registred that Edict without the least Opposition, as being much more favourable than what they had expected. And it was but twenty-one Years after, that the Catholics were fully restored in that Country by open Force, as we shall see under the Year 1621 (s).

1599.  
Pope Clément VIII

The main Spring of the King's Actions at this Time, was the great need he stood in of the Pope's Authority for divorcing him from *Margaret* his Consort. He had not seen her ever since the Year 1585, when she eloped from him. Since his Accession to the Crown, he had oftentimes endeavoured to obtain her free Consent for a Divorce, *Du Plessis* had been employed in that Negociation, and the Matter had been brought near a Conclusion; but that Princess understanding the strong Inclination the King had for *Gabrielle* of *Etrées*, Dutches of *Beaufort*, and that he would marry that Lady if he was once divorced from her, seemed somewhat backward, and did not insist so much as she had done before, especially by her Instrument of *Febrnary* last. upon the Dissolution of her Marriage. The King was so much vexed at it, that sometimes he had a mind to have her tried for Adultery, which was very easy to make out, and have her justly condemned as such, and had it not been for certain political Considerations, very likely the King would have taken that Course; his Passion for the fair *Gabrielle* was come to such a height, that

CXIV.  
*The King's Divorce from Queen Margaret.*

Vol. IV.

Z

nothing

Henry IV. nothing could have stopped him, when an unexpected Accident happened, which delivered, at once, the Kingdom from the Broils and Com-  
 {<sup>1599.</sup>  
 Pope Cle-  
 ment VIII} motions which must have unavoidably ensued, and himself from the Blemish which such a Match would have cast upon his Reputation; I mean, the untimely and lamentable Death of that fair Lady. She was gone five or six Months with Child, and, as it was then the Holy Week, the King, for avoiding the Scandal, had thought proper to part from her for a few days, and had sent her back to *Paris*, where she arrived on the *Wednesday*, and lodged in the House of a famous Partisan of that time, namely *Zamet*. The next day she was splendidly entertained at dinner by the same, and eat very heartily; then she went to Church, where she felt some Swoonings, which obliged her to return home, and while she walked in the Garden, she was seized with an Apoplectick Fit, from which being a little recovered, she would by no means stay any longer in that House, and was carried to her Sister's, where she was no sooner put to Bed, but she fell again into the same Fits, with such Violence that she was quite alter'd; her beautiful Face became, in a few Hours time, the ugliest and the most hideous Object that could be seen; she died the next day tormented with the bitterest Pains, and left the King inconsolable (i). However, *Queen Margaret* having received that News, readily consented to whatever was demanded of her, in order to obtain the desired Separation. *Sillery* had been at *Rome* since *April* last upon that account, and it was not a difficult Thing to obtain of the Pope to name Commissaries for examining the Matter: The Cardinal of *Joyeuse*, the Bishop of *Modena*, the Pope's Nuncio at the Court of  
 • *France*,

(i) Mem. de Sully, Tom. I. chap. 90.

*France*, and the Archbishop of *Arles*, were the Henry IV.  
 Persons chosen for that purpose, who considering that that Marriage had been contracted in 1599. Pope Clement VIII  
 prohibited Degrees, without the Pope's Licence, that the Princess had never consented to that Marriage, but had acted against her own Will out of Fear, &c. they declared the Marriage void and null, and granted both Parties liberty to marry with whomsoever they pleased: that Sentence was pronounced in *November*. One of the Reasons which the Pope had by himself, for being satisfied that that Marriage had been contracted against the Princess's Will, deserves to be taken notice of. Het old Cardinal *D'Ossat* that Cardinal *Alexandrine* having been sent to King *Charles* for dissuading him to think any more of marrying his Sister with an heretick Prince, his Majesty took him one day by the Hand, and told him, MY LORD CARDINAL, WHATEVER YOU SAY IS RIGHT AND GOOD, AND I THANK THE POPE AND YOURSELF FOR IT; AND, HAD I SOME OTHER MEANS OF REVENGING MY SELF UPON MINE ENEMIES, I WOULD NOT THINK OF THIS MARRIAGE; BUT I HAVE NO OTHER MEANS. To which the Pope added, that when the said Cardinal heard, at *Rome*, of the Massacre of *St. Bartholomew's Day*, he said, GOD BE PRAISED, THE KING OF FRANCE HAS BEEN, WITH ME, AS GOOD AS HIS WORD (u) This does not require any further Commentary.

But an Affair of another nature was now CXV. upon the Anvil, which puzzled the King more than any thing else. *Du Plessis*, as above said, Conference at Fontainebleau between had published a Book concerning the Eucharist, wherein he set forth the Opinion of the Fathers Du Plessis and Du Perron. and of the School-Men in the several Ages of the 1600.

Z 2

(u) Thuan. Lib. cxxiii. p. 885, 886. Lettres D'Ossat, Liv. v. Lettre 185.



Henry IV. the Christian Church, and shewed forth by  
<sup>1600.</sup>  
 Pope Cle- what degrees and means Error, Superstition  
 ment VIII and Idolatry had crept into the Church; he  
 did not spare the Popes, but told them plainly  
 of their enormous Iniquities. But methinks  
 his Prudence failed him in one Point, may it  
 be said with respect to that great Man; viz.  
 he caused his own Name, Dignities and Titles  
 to be set down, which indeed drew upon him a  
 terrible Storm, which he could have avoided, had  
 he better considered, that how great soever his  
 Fame was in *Europe*, it could add no new  
 Force to the Strength of his Arguments, and  
 that he had to deal with a Master who thought  
 himself much indebted to the Pope, and con-  
 sequently obliged to take his part, and do many  
 Things for him. However, as soon as that  
 Book appeared in publick, the Catholics made  
 a terrible noise about it. Several Writers en-  
 deavoured to answer it, and pestered the Pub-  
 lick with whole Loads of foolish Pamphlets,  
 which were rather Invectives against the Author  
 than Answers to his Work. The Faculty of  
 Divinity at *Paris* condemned it by a publick  
 Censure; several private Persons published Ca-  
 talogues of falsified Passages, and of Omissions  
 of necessary Words in the said Passages. For  
 'tis to be observed that the Author had not confi-  
 ned himself only within the Bounds of Scripture,  
 but he had over-run the vast Field of Tradi-  
 tion, and had quoted in his Book above Five  
 Thousand Passages of the Fathers and School-  
 Men. This was, as it were, bringing the War  
 into the very Bowels of the Church of *Rome*,  
 attacking her in her strongest Entrenchments,  
 and violently wresting her very last Weapons  
 out of her hands. There was nothing left for  
 her Defence, for after having taken away the  
 Scripture

Scripture from her, which indeed she has herself <sup>Henry IV.</sup> forsaken, the Fathers and School-Men were <sup>1600.</sup> ravished from her too, and the Fountains of <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> Tradition, wherein she places her last Refuge. <sup>ment VIII</sup> But all the Noise both of the Preachers and Writers served only to make the Book sell better, and to raise the Reputation of its Author. They attack'd it so weakly, that certainly it would have been much better for them to have let it alone. The Pope was vex'd at his Heart to see himself treated in so sharp a manner, and that too by a Person no less considerable than the great *Du Plessis*; that caused him to suspect the King's Sincerity as to Religion. There was then at *Rome* a certain *German* who boasted that he had learnt this Secret from a Protestant at *Augsbourg*, who said that *Bongars*, the King's Envoy to the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, assured them he had not changed his Religion in his Heart; and *D'Ossat*, who thought it convenient for the King's Reputation to stop the spreading of such Reports, left no Stone unturn'd for finding out what could have occasioned them; and acquainted his Majesty with the Discoveries he could make upon that Subject.

It was the King's Interest that such Reports should not find Credit amongst the Catholics, but on the other hand, they were useful to him amongst the Protestant Princes, whose Alliance he courted as necessary to his Designs. But whereas he stood, at present, in need of the Friendship of the Court of *Rome*, he thought proper to satisfy the Pope, and to mortify *Du Plessis*, which could not be done without mortifying the Reformed Party at the same time. His Book afforded him a specious Pretence, nevertheless his Majesty would have been much puzzled how to execute his Resolution, had not

Henry IV. *Du Plessis's* Hastiness pav'd the Way to it. All his Aggressors, how different soever they were in their Style and Method, yet agreed in this, That many false Quotations were to be found in his Book. That touch'd him in the most sensible Part, he had 'till then withstood all the Storms that were rais'd against him, but now he could not bear to be charged with Falsification, and thought that his Honour was deeply concerned to make good the Integrity of his Quotations. But methinks he took a wrong Method, for instead of replying to his Adversaries by the same Means as they attack'd him, towards the End of *March* he published a Writing, inviting his Antagonists to join with him in presenting a Petition to his Majesty, beseeching that proper Commissaries should be appointed before whom he might justify his Quotations from Line to Line. A few days after *Du Perron* received one of these Writings, and answered it, accepting the Challenge, and offering to point out Five Hundred enormously false Quotations in the Book, without any Hyperbole; and he wrote at the same time to the King, desiring that the Conference should be appointed. *Du Plessis* could not let this Bravado pass without a Reply; but lest this Multiplicity of Writings should break off the Design of the Conference, *Villeroy* advised the Bishop of *Evreux* not to answer this. At the same time *Du Plessis* wrote to his Majesty, and his Petition was tendered by the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*; The King being no less eager after that Conference than the two contending Parties, readily complied with the Request, and at the Beginning of *April*, he gave Orders to the Chancellor, namely *Pompone of Believre*, to procure it as soon as possible.

But

But several Difficulties were started, which held Henry IV that Affair in suspense for some Weeks longer. <sup>1600.</sup> The Pope's Nuncio being afraid that such a <sup>Pope Cle. ment VIII</sup> Conference with an Heretick should prove detrimental to the Catholick Religion, and besides that, lest it should be an Infringement of the Ecclesiastical Prerogative, should the King have the Nomination of the Commissaries that were to assist at that Conference, opposed it at first with all his Might; the Archbishop of *Bourges*, the Bishop of *Paris*, *Benoit* Bishop elect of *Troyes*, and several others made their Remonstrances to the King against it. But his Majesty satisfied them all, assuring them that it was not for disputing about Points of Doctrine, but only for examining a Matter of Fact, whether *Du Plessis's* Quotations were false or nor; and withal, giving them his Word that care should be taken that the Catholick Religion should lose nothing by it. On the other hand, several Persons advis'd *Du Plessis* not to carry that Affair too far, but to desist, seeing his Adversary left him 4500 Quotations, the Integrity whereof he did not contest; so that tho' there were 500 less, it was no Disparagement to his Cause. But he could not endure the Word FALSE, and tho' he was very sensible of the King's high Displeasure against him, on account of his Book, nevertheless his Prudence fail'd him again on this Occasion; he relied too much on the King's Justice, and was in hopes that the Memory of his Services, the Fear of provoking the Reformed, would oblige that Prince to see that he should not have the least foul Play; he considered not that the State of his Affairs required that the Pope should be satisfied at any rate, and by any Sacrifice that could be offered.

Henry IV. At last the King, without any regard to Du  
 1600. *Plessis's* Remonstrances upon the regulating of  
 Pope Cle- the Conference, appointed the Place, the Time,  
 ment VIII and the Commissaries; *Fontainebleau* was the  
 Place where the contending Parties were to  
 meet on the 4th of *May*, with *Tbuanus*, *Francis*  
*Pitbou*, *John Martin*, one of the King's Phy-  
 sicians, *Philip* of *Canaye* Lord of *Fresne*, President  
 in the Chamber of *Castres*, and *Isaac Casaubon*  
 royal Professor of the *Greek* Tongue; they were  
 the five Commissaries named by the King, the  
 three first on the Catholick Side, the two last  
 on the Reformed; but it is observable that *Ca-*  
*naye Du Fresne* had already promis'd to turn  
 Catholick, which he did a very little time after  
 the Conference.

*Du Plessis* was used with very great Rigour,  
 and first of all the King, seeing that he could not  
 be dissuaded from coming to a Conference,  
 gave orders to the Chancellor to send for the  
 contending Parties to Court; but the Chancellor  
 sent notice thereof only to *Du Perron*, whereby  
 he intended to blame *Du Plessis*, as if, mistrust-  
 ing the Justice of his Cause, he had a mind to  
 shun a Conference which he had so eagerly pur-  
 sued, not appearing at the prefixed Time.  
 But if such was the Chancellor's Intention, he  
 missed his Aim, for *Du Plessis* having private  
 Notice thereof, followed the Bishop of *Evreux*  
 so close, that he was at Court the next day after  
 him. Secondly, *Du Plessis* intreated that the  
 Passages of his Book might be examined one  
 after another, and those which were not charged  
 with any Falsification might be deemed as good;  
 besides that, he required that the Bishop should  
 give him the 500 Quotations which he charged  
 with Falsification, signed with his own Hand.  
 These two Demands were but reasonable and  
 just,

just, nevertheless the Bishop was too cunning to Henry IV, 1600.  
comply with either. As to the first, he said he *Pope Clement VIII*  
had already answered and shewn the Reasons of  
his Denial, which were all included in the prodigious Length of Time requisite for such an Examination; which Reason, in truth, was too weak to be satisfactory, nevertheless the King received it as good. As to the second, the Bishop offered to put the 500 Quotations into the King's hands, out of which, he, the Bishop, should pick out 50, of his own Choice, to be examined every day. The Design of that Device was plain enough; had *Du Plessis* received all these Quotations together, as he desired, he might have been assisted by those to whom he should have communicated them, and so come better prepared to the Conference. Besides that the Bishop having his Choice of the Quotations, which were to be examined every day, he might hold *Du Plessis* in perpetual Perplexity, upon which side he had a mind to attack him; so that he should never have any longer Time to prepare himself than what his Adversary was pleas'd to allow him. Lastly, the Bishop might pick out of the said 500 Quotations those that seemed most likely to be quoted wrong, and to prepossess, by this Artifice, the People's Minds, and insinuate to them that the rest was of the like Nature.

*Du Plessis* was very sensible of the snare that was laid for him; he rejected these the Bishop's Offers, and petitioned the King to have at least the said Quotations put into the hands of two of the Commissaries, but *Du Perron* refus'd to comply with it. *Du Plessis* remained still in his first Resolution for some time, but after many Debates between himself, the Chancellor, *Rosni*, and four of the King's Commissaries, as the  
Chancellor

Henry IV. Chancellor told him, in the King's Name, that  
 1600. whether he would or not accept the Bishop's  
 Pope Cle- Terms, his Majesty was fully resolved to  
 went VIII  
 have the Quotations examined, even in his Absence, he yielded at last: which was another Error that he committed, for knowing what Turn that Affair took, he ought never to enter into that Conference but upon equal Terms; it would have been much better for him to have been condemned being absent than present, for tho' in that Case he would have been exposed at first, to the Censure of the Publick, it would have been very easy for him to justify his Conduct in this respect, by publishing the shameful Methods that were practised in order to get the Victory.

The third Hardship that was put upon him was, that he had not above eight Hours time allowed to examine 61 Quotations, and to compare them together with the Context. *Du Perron* sent them to him only at Eleven of the Clock in the Night of the third of May, to be ready the next Morning at Seven o' Clock. *Du Plessis* had not his own Books but was obliged to make use of those which his Adversary was pleas'd to lend him; he sat up all Night, and could verify but nineteen. The Bishop was so unjust as to complain bitterly thereof, as if it had been possible for that Nobleman to compare fixty Quotations with the Originals and the Context in so short a Space of Time as was scarce sufficient even to peruse them only. And he was willing to begin the Conference with other Quotations than those which *Du Plessis* had examin'd, thinking it would be more easy for him to prove the Falsification thereof, but he did not insist thereupon.

The Conference was opened at One in the <sup>Henry IV.</sup> Afternoon, the King was present with the <sup>1600.</sup> Chancellor, some Bishops, the Secretaries of <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> State, and six or seven Princes. The Chan-<sup>ment VIII</sup> cellor who was to preside, declared that the Matter to be debated was not a Matter of Right, or to call in question the Doctrine of the Church; but a Matter of Fact, to know whether the Passages quoted by *Du Plessis* were genuine or not. His Majesty confirmed what the Chancellor had said, and added further that his Pleasure was, that in the Disputation, they should intirely forbear the Words FALSE or FALSIFICATION; that was another cunning Device for facilitating *Du Perron's* Victory. The Challenge had been propos'd by *Du Plessis* on account of the Charge of FALSE or FALSIFICATION, which was laid against him; that Bishop had publickly promised that he would show in *Du Plessis's* Book 500 ENORMOUS FALSIFICATIONS; he was in honour bound to make good his Word, which puzzled him to be sure; but, by the King's Favour, he was eased from that heavy Burden, and obliged only to show that *Du Plessis* had either misunderstood, or mistranslated, or misapplied his Quotations, which is quite another Thing than to falsify them. On the other hand, *Du Plessis* was surpriz'd at this unexpected Turn, he had prepared himself to show that his Authors had indeed said what he related, but not whether he had rightly understood them or not.

However, the two contending Parties having taken their Seat, and the Books being brought upon the Table, nine Passages were examined that Day. It is to be observed, that there was a vast personal Difference between them both;

*Du*



Henry IV. *Perron* was a learned Man endowed with a prodigious Memory, a fine Speaker, eloquent, bold beyond Expression, who could speak better, or at least as well, even *ex tempore*, as *Du Plessis* could write; and being supported on this Occasion by the King and the whole Court, and the hopes of a Cardinal's Hat, wherewith his good Success was to be crowned, nothing was wanting to raise his Spirits as high as could be. On the other hand, *Du Plessis* was sick for some Days before, heavy and tired with spending the whole Night in the irksome Business of comparing his Quotations with the Originals, even in other Editions than his own, dejected through the Sense of his Master's Disgrace, and may be, repenting for having gone so far in that Career, and for having yielded too easily to the Persuasions of *Rosni* and some others of the same sort: besides that, he knew better how to write than how to speak, especially *ex tempore*. But for all that, *Mezeray* is not to be credited intirely in his Relation of the Trouble and Confusion *Du Plessis* was in, and of the Triumph of his Adversary; he is much mistaken therein, and *Thuanus*, who was present at that Conference as Commissary, deserves surely a greater Credit than one who wrote above fifty Years afterwards. Now here is the Account which that noble Historian gives us of that Transaction.

‘ First, says he, the Passages of *John Scot* and  
‘ *Durand*, concerning the Transubstantiation and  
‘ the corporal Presence of Our Lord in the Sa-  
‘ crament were examined, and the Opinion of  
‘ the Commissaries thereupon being required, it  
‘ was declared that *Du Plessis*, being deceived  
‘ through the usual Method of the Schoolmen,  
‘ had mistaken the Objection for the Solu-  
‘ tion in both these Authors. They came next  
‘ to

' to some Places of *Cbrysoftome* and *St. Je-* Henry IV.  
 ' *rome*, concerning the Invocation of Saints, 1600.  
 ' and the Commissaries pronounced, that *Du* Pope Cle-  
 ' *Plessis* ought to have related the whole ment VIII  
 ' Passage in its full Length. Then as to the  
 ' Passage of *St. Cyril*, concerning the A-  
 ' doration of the *Cross*, they could not find it  
 ' in his Works ; that he had omitted some  
 ' Words in transcribing the Constitution of  
 ' *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*; and the Chan-  
 ' cellor pronounced, that he ought not to  
 ' have made use of the Authority of *Peter*  
 ' *Crinitus*, who was a Modern of no great  
 ' Reputation. Then *Du Perron* argued upon  
 ' two huddled Passages of *St. Bernard*, con-  
 ' cerning the *Blessed Virgin*, which *Du Plessis*  
 ' had quoted, as making against her Mediation  
 ' between God and Men, and the Chancellor  
 ' by the Advice of the Commissaries declared  
 ' for *Du Perron*.' The last Passage that was  
 examined was *Theodoret's* Commentary on  
 the † CXIIIth Psalm ; *Du Perron* said,  
 ' That the Word was to be render'd by *Idols*, † Which  
 ' and not by *Images*, as *Du Plessis* had transla- is the  
 ' ted. At last, after a long Dispute about the 114th of  
 ' Use of Images, the Chancellor pronounced, our Ver-  
 ' that the Passage was to be understood as sion.  
 ' meaning the Idols of the *Gentiles*, and not  
 ' the Images of the Christians.' (A fine De-  
 cision indeed ! as if in *Theodoret's* Time there  
 had been any other Image worshipped besides  
 the Idols, or any other Worshipers of  
 Images besides the Idolatrous Pagans, or as if  
 the Words *Idol* and *Image* were not often-  
 Times synonymous.)

Such is *Thuanus* his Account of that Con-  
 ference, whereby it is very plain, 1 That the  
 Charge of Falsification laid at first a

Henry IV. *Plessis* was very wicked and false itself, seeing  
 1600. that, *Cyril's* excepted, the Words of his other  
 Pope Clement VIII Quotations were in the Authors referred to ;  
 and as to *Cyril*, he own'd himself, that he had  
 not related his own Words, but only an Abstract of his Opinions. 2°. That *Du Perron's*  
*Victory* was very far from being so compleat as *Mezeray* pretends. *Tbuanus* had some Measures to keep with the Court, and durst not unravel the whole Mystery. Now we learn by *DuPlessis's* Biographer, that had it not been for the King's Interposition, at *Du Perron's* earnest Request, the Commissaries would have pronounced upon *Durand's* Passage, what they had already declared upon *Scot's*, viz. *that it required to be more strictly examined* ; but upon the King's Order, they decided as abovesaid. As to *Cbrysoftome*, the Passages in question were taken out of his first Homily upon the 1st Epist. to the *Thess.* and his 15th Hom. upon *St. Matth.* *St. Jerome* upon *Ezekiel*, Book I. Ch. iv.

The King behaved himself upon this Occasion in a way very little becoming Royal Majesty, he had past the Night preceding the Conference in such Perplexities about the Success of the Day, that any thing like had never been observed before, even when he was in the greatest dangers ; and at the Conference he was so much afraid, lest the Commissaries should be too scrupulous or, conscientious, that he added exprefs Commands to decide in every thing according to his own Champion's Opinions, wherein however he was not so strictly obeyed as he could have wished. Besides that he ordered his Supper to be brought up in the same Room where the Conference had been held, and told *Du Perron* during the Sup-

Supper, *Let us speak Truth, the good Cause* Henry IV. *was wanting some Help.* He wrote also to 1600. the Duke of *Espernon*, beginning as follows: Pope Clement VIII *My Friend, the Diocese of Evreux has conquered that of Saumur, &c.* The rest was of the like Style. In one place he saith, *The Bearer will tell ye, that I HAVE DONE WONDERS in the Conference.* That Letter was published, and most part of the People that read it, could not help laughing, even the Duke himself, seeing 1<sup>o</sup>. that he styled his *Friend*, one whom he hated above all Men in the World; and 2<sup>o</sup>. that he owned that he had been obliged to exert his Authority, for that is the meaning of these Words, *I have done Wonders in it.*

However, the Conference could not be renewed, as *Du Plessis* could have desired, for he was seized in the Night with such vomiting Fits, that the King's first Physician ordered him not to stir abroad if he would not endanger his Life. His Majesty sent Secretary *Lomenie* to visit him, and to tell him that for all what was past, he would be always his Master and his Friend; and that if he would forbear writing any more against the Pope, he would employ him more than ever. But *Du Plessis* was too generous, and had too noble a Soul for complying upon such Terms, which would have reflected a Blemish upon his Religion, as well as upon his own Character; therefore he chose to live in the King's Disgrace, rather than to sacrifice the Truth to his private Interest: he came to *Paris*, where having settled some Family Business, and being recovered of his late Fit of Sickneſs, he set out for *Saumur* without taking the King's Leave. He met there the Deputies of the Churches waiting for the Execution of the Edict, whereby  
I he

Henry IV. he had a favourable Opportunity of informing  
 1600. all the Churches of all the Particulars of that  
 Pope Cle- Conference. Two Years after, he published a  
 ment VIII new Edition of his Book about the Sacrament;  
 he transcribed in the Margin all the Quota-  
 tions at length, and in the very Language  
 of the Authors. His Majesty was very far  
 from attaining his End, which was to engage;  
 at least, some of the reformed Courtiers to  
 turn Catholicks, and *Du Plessis*, not to write  
 any more; for tho' he supported *Du Perron's*  
 Relation of the Transaction in the Conferences,  
*Du Plessis's* Reply was deemed so full, and  
 besides that so agreeable to Truth, that not  
 only it remained unanswered, but none of the  
 Reformed, besides two or three such, like Pre-  
 sident *La Canaye*, who had already pro-  
 mised before to change, thought proper to re-  
 nounce. Nay, the Catholicks themselves did  
 justice to *Du Plessis* and his Book; and the  
 first Bustles of the Bishops, who proclaimed his  
 Victory every where, were no sooner over,  
 but many of them, especially amongst the  
 Laity, who had Capacity enough to be Judges  
 for themselves, were curious to examine the  
 said Book, and to compare the Quotations with  
 the Originals; by which means several being  
 convinced of the Truth, renounced their  
 Errors. (a) And now it will not be amiss to  
 acquaint the Reader with the Character of that  
 famous Man, the Bishop of *Evreux*.

*JAMES DAVY DU PERRON*,  
 Cardinal Priest of the Title of *St. Agnez*, Great  
 Almoner of *France*, Commander of the King's  
 Orders, Bishop of *Evreux*, and then Arch-

(a) Thuan. Libro. CXXIII. Mezeray, Tom. VI.  
 Part iii. Vie de Du Plessis Mornay Liv. 2. Mem. de  
 Sully, Tom. I. Ch.

bishop of Sens, was born the 25th of *Novem- Henry IV.*  
*ber* 1556. If *D' Aubigné* is to be credited, and <sup>1600.</sup>  
 he was particularly acquainted with *Du Perron*, <sup>Pope Cle-</sup>  
 that Cardinal's Father was *Davy*, Minister and <sup>ment VIII</sup>  
 Physician together, who lived at *Geneva*, in a  
 Street called *Le Perron*, from whence the said  
 Cardinal derived his Name. That Account is  
 contrary to that of some other Authors quoted  
 by *Morery* in his Dictionary, who pretend that our  
 Cardinal was descended from the Houses of *Per-*  
*ron*, *Cretteville*, and *Langerville* in *Low Norman-*  
*dy*, and was Son to *Julian Davy*, Lord *Du*  
*Perron*. However, they all agree in this, that  
 he was born a Reformed; that being a  
 Child, his Father, for avoiding the Persecution  
 under *Henry II.* retired with his Family to *Ge-*  
*neva*, and from thence into *Switzerland*; that  
 he gave very early Proofs of a sublime Genius,  
 fit for any great Business; he was endowed  
 with a prodigious Memory, a very clear Un-  
 derstanding, a very uncommon Learning, and  
 spoke with such a Gracefulness and Eloquence,  
 that he never failed to persuade, at least those  
 who were not aware. He was extremely well  
 shaped, handsome in his Face, majestick in his  
 Mien, comely in his Dress. In a word, he  
 would have been the most accomplished Man  
 of his Time, had his moral Virtues answered  
 the Endowments of his Mind, and the Perfec-  
 tions of his Body. But he was of such an aspi-  
 ring Genius, that he stuck at nothing whenever  
 it was question to gratify the Desires of his  
 Ambition. Hypocrisy, Deceitfulness, Cheat,  
 Treason, any thing was good for him, that  
 could serve to attain his Aim. He went back  
 to *France*, being still very young, his bright  
 Parts were soon admired at Court, but he was  
 given to understand, that unless he should

Henry IV. renounce his Religion, he ought not to expect  
 1600. any Advancement. A Man of his Character  
 Pope Cle- ment VIII could not be long stopt in his Way by any such  
 ~~~~~ Consideration; Religion or religious Principles shall never thwart him in his Designs, to be great in this World is, to him, a more solid thing than to be saved in the next; therefore he accepted readily of the Condition, and, having abjured the Reformed Religion, he was admitted Reader to King Henry III. and was obliged to discourse upon one Subject or other while his Majesty sat at dinner. But, if two several Authors his Cotemporaries are to be credited, and one of them was a Roman Catholic, his Eagerness after Favour and Preferment carried him so far, that he was like to lose it intirely: for having one day discoursed before the King upon the Being of a God, the whole Court was charmed with his Speech: puffed up with the Praises bestowed upon him without measure, and very likely thinking to please the King, he said, *Sir, I have proved this Day, by good and strong Arguments, that there is a God; to-morrow, if your Majesty will be pleased to give me Audience, I shall evince, by as strong Arguments, that there is no God:* whereupon the King was so provoked, that he bid him go out and never come before him any more. This happened on *Friday* the 25th of *November*, 1583; I can't tell how long his disgrace lasted, nor how he was restored to the King's Favour, for want of proper Memoirs upon that Subject, but he was as great at Court as ever a few Years after, and was Author of the Speech which the King delivered in the States held at *Blois* in 1588. After his Master's Death he entered into the young Cardinal of *Bourbon's* Household, and was soon admitted

admitted to his inmost Confidence, and it was <sup>Henry IV.</sup> he who put into that young Prince's Head to <sup>1560</sup> aspire to the Crown, and to declare himself <sup>Pope Clement VIII</sup> Head of the third Party, mentioned in its proper Place; but, even on this Occasion, he had no other View but to impose upon his Master, and to pave the way to his own Advancement; for he soon betray'd his Secret, and gave notice thereof to King *Henry IV.* who knew very well how to improve such important Discoveries. Then he was one of the greatest Promoters of the King's Change; afterwards he was adjoined to *D'Ossat* to procure the King's Absolution from the *Pope*. It seems that, in this Negociation, wherein he had certainly a greater hand than his Partner, he was quite forgetful of the Honour of the Crown, and minded only his own Interest; for, willing to ingratiate himself into the Pope's Favour, and to obtain a Cardinal's Hat, he not only left undecided the Independency of the Crown of *France* from any other Power besides God, and consented to Terms very unreasonable, nay some of them impossible, but he yielded to that base and shameful Penance whereby the Crown of *France* became, as one may say, the Rubbing-brush of the Pope's Slippers. His Conduct deserved the most severe Punishment at his Return, and indeed, had he been left to the Discretion of the Parliament and of every true *Frenchman*, he would not come off so cheap as he did. He vented very dangerous Opinions concerning the Pope's Supremacy over crowned Heads, in the States held at *Paris* in 1614, as we shall see hereafter. He died in the Month of *September* 1618, in the 62d Year of his Age (c).

A a 2

Now

(c) De L'Etoile, Mem. pour servir a l'Hist. de France, Tom. I. p. 172. D'Aubigné Hist. Univers. Tom. III. liv. iii. chap. 24. Confession de Sancy, Epit. Dedicatoire à Mr. l'Evêq. d'Evreux, & alibi, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes iii, iv, v, vi, &c.



Henry IV. Now, to resume our History, the King  
 1600. was much perplexed when he heard of *Du*  
*Pope Cle-* *Plessis's* sudden Departure; he was afraid lest  
*ment VIII* he should impart his just Resentment to the As-  
 CXVII. sembly of the Reformed, who from *Cbatellerand*  
*The King's* had removed to *Saumur* since *November* last,  
*Jealousy* and had stayed there all the Winter, waiting for  
*against Du* the Execution of the Edict. And indeed, had  
*Plessis.* *Du Plessis* been a Man of another Character, he  
 had it in his power to improve the Dispositions  
 wherein he found them at his Arrival, but that  
 great Man was always too generous to make a  
 general Affair of his own private Concerns, and  
 would not deviate from his usual Principles  
 upon this Occasion, nor take advantage of this  
 Opportunity to trouble those who had so un-  
 worthily treated him.

CXVIII. While the Affair of the Execution of the  
*War of* Edict was on foot, the King made his Expedi-  
*Savoy.* tion into *Savoy*; he took the Field in the  
 Month of *August*, and before the End of the  
 Year he was Master of the Province of *Bressia*,  
 of the Countries of *Bugei* and *Gex*, of *Chambery*,  
 of the Valleys of *Maurienne*, of the *Tarentaise*,  
*&c. &c.* and forced the Duke to come to a  
 Treaty which was concluded at *Lyons* on the  
 17th of *January* 1601, by the Mediation of  
 the Pope. Never a War was undertook upon  
 more just Grounds than this. The Duke of  
*Reasons* *Savoy*, as already observed, improving the Op-  
*thereof.* portunity, had seized upon the Marquisate of  
*Saluces* in 1588, and had kept it as a Country  
 which opened a Passage for him to make Incur-  
 sions, as he had successfully done in *Provence*,  
*Dauphiné*, &c. till 1597, when *Henry IV.*  
 summoned him to restore that Country which  
 belonged to his Crown; which upon several  
 false, or at the best, specious Pretences, he  
 declined

declined to do, and had spun out the Time in Henry IV. tedious Negotiations till the Treaty of *Vervins* <sup>1600.</sup> was signed in 1598, whereby the Pope was left <sup>Pope Clement VIII</sup> Umpire of those Differences subsisting between the two Courts of *France* and *Savoy*, which were to be determined in a Year's time. But all the Pope's Endeavours and Sollicitations with the Duke proved ineffectual, and the prescribed Time being over, he thought that, if he himself paid a Visit to the King, he might come off at a cheaper Rate ; flattering himself that, by his Presents, he might bribe some of the King's Council, and at the same time keep up and foment the Discontents of some of the greatest Men, amongst whom was the Marshal of *Biron*, with whom he had already joined a Correspondence. With these Dispositions he came to *Paris* in *December* last, and had been received with the utmost Magnificence. But notwithstanding all his Cunning, and the large Sums of Money which he scattered amongst the Courtiers, all that he could effect was only to engage *Biron* and some others more deeply in a Rebellion against their lawful Sovereign ; for, as to the *Marquisate*, he found his Majesty inflexible, and all that he could obtain after above two Months stay at Court was, that he had the Choice, either to restore the said *Marquisate*, or to give the Province of *Bressia* in lieu thereof. That Cession was no less hard for the Duke than the Restitution itself ; nevertheless, as he sought a fair Pretence for setting out with Honour, he feigned not to dislike the Proposition, but he desired some further Time to consider of it with his Privy-Council and the great Men of his Dukedom. Full three Months were granted him for that purpose, and he set out a few days after for *Turin*. There wanted not

Henry IV. Flatterers at Court who would fain persuade  
 1600. the King to arrest the Duke till he had restored  
 Pope Cle- the Marquisate ; but his Majesty rejected that  
 ment VIII Proposition with Scorn and Indignation, as re-  
 flecting Dishonour upon his Character ; *I chuse rather to lose my Crown, says that great Prince, than to break my Word, even with the worst of my Enemies.* The three Months being over, and the Duke not performing his Promise, the King was very angry with him, and let him know that he ought to determine himself for either of the two Parties proposed ; he took a further time, and made new Promises, in the mean while, he was strongly soliciting the Court of *Spain* for a speedy Assistance, but tho' that Council was sensible enough of the Necessity of granting such a Relief, they went on so slowly that it was a long while before they came to any Resolution ; at last, the Count of *Fu-entes* Governour of the *Milaneze* received Orders, but two Months too late, to assist powerfully that Prince. After having, by several Artifices, spun out the Time in fruitless Negotiations, the King's Patience was tired out, and he marched with a small Body of Troops to *Lyons* ; which the Duke understanding, he endeavoured to amuse him by three Ambassadors which he sent into that City with an Instrument whereby they declared, that their Master was ready to execute the Treaty made at *Paris*, and to deliver up the Marquisate ; but one of the Ambassadors, who was in the Secret of the Duke, refused to sign the said Instrument till his Master had seen it, and required further Time to acquaint him thereof ; whereby the Cheat was plain enough, that his Master sought nothing else but to give time to the *Spanish* General to come to his Assistance. The King was

no longer his Bubble, and the Duke having at last pulled off the Mask, he was forced to come to the King's Terms in the manner above-said. By that Treaty he delivered to his Majesty, the Countries of *Bressia*, *Bugey*, *Val-Romey* and the Bailiwick and Barony of *Gex*, in lieu of the *Marquisate*, which the King yielded unto him and his Successors; besides that, he was obliged to restore *Chateau-Dauphin*, to raze *Beche-Dauphin*, and to pay 100,000 Crowns for the Artillery he had taken at *Carmagnoles* about 12 Years before.

In this Expedition the King did several Things very agreeable to the Reformed, but no less displeasing to the Catholicks. As he came to the *Luiset* a Mile distant from *St. Katherine's Fort*, not far from *Geneva*, that City sent a Deputation to his Majesty, at the Head whereof was *Beza*, then above 80 Years old, who made a fine Speech to the King, tending to beseech his Majesty to deliver them from the said Fort which the Duke of *Savoy* had built to annoy their City. The Deputies were very kindly received, especially *Beza*, whom the King was pleased to call *his Father*, and presented him with 500 Crowns, besides which he granted their Request, and was no sooner Master of the said Fort but he delivered it into the Magistrates Hands, who razed it to the ground with all imaginable Expedition. These Things offended much the Catholicks, the Monks and the Ecclesiasticks amongst others, who were in the Legate's Retinue, who could not bear that his Majesty should have bestowed the Title of *Father* upon a Man whom they considered as a Heresiarch; the Legate especially was enraged at that delivering of the Fort, he made a terrible Noise about it, and threaten'd just as if the

Henry VI. Catholick Religion had been thereby brought  
 1600. to a certain Ruin.

Pope Cle-  
 ment VIII



As to the Bailiwick of *Gex*, the Neighbour-  
 hood of the Canton of *Berna* had introduced  
 the Reformation amongst them, and it had  
 been tolerated by the Dukes of *Savoy* till a little  
 after the Council of *Trent*, when the said Dukes  
 ordered all their Subjects to submit themselves  
 to the Decisions thereof; but some time after,  
 the *Bernese* having possessed themselves of that  
 small Country, the Reformed got the upper  
 hand so far, that the Catholick Religion was but  
 tolerated; they were, a little after the Peace,  
 permitted to enjoy the Benefit of the Edict of  
*Nantz*. *Bourg* the chief Town of *Bressia*, with  
 its Castle, was put under the Government of  
*Peter d'Escodeca Boesse* who professed the Refor-  
 med Religion, and consequently, says *Mezeray*,  
 more sure to the King than any other; but the  
 Court of *Rome* was much offended at that  
 Preference given to a Heretick before a Catho-  
 lick (d).

CXIX. Some Months before this Expedition the King  
*The King's Marriage.* had sent *D'Alincourt* to *Rome*, to give the Pope  
 his thanks for the Justice he had done him in  
 the Affair of his Divorce from *Margaret* of  
*Valois*, his first Wife; and at the same time, to  
 let him know that, after a mature Considera-  
 tion, he had fixed his choice upon *Mary* of  
*Medicis* as the fittest Princess of all others to be  
 his Consort; she was Daughter to *Francis*  
 Great Duke of *Tuscany*, who died in 1588, and  
 Niece to *Ferdinand* his Successor. That Affair  
 was managed with such Dexterity and Diligence,  
 that the Marriage-Contract was signed at *Flo-*  
*rence*, by his Ambassadors, on the 4th of *April*,  
 and

(d) Thuan. Lib. CXXV. D'Aubigné Tom. III. Liv. V.  
 chap. ix, x, xi.

and the Marriage was consummated at *Lyons* Henry IV. on the 19th of *December*. 1600.

The Creation of new Offices in all the Jurisdiction of the Kingdom, even in the Parliaments, was one of the Means that *Roni* proposed to raise Money, and was like to affect the Privileges granted to the Reformed by the Edict. These new Creations are always detrimental to those who possess old Offices, their Fees become less considerable because they are to be divided between a greater number of Persons, therefore the Parliament of *Paris* would have confounded these new Offices with those out of which the King was to gratify the Reformed, according to the Edict, and which were of an old standing. But whereas these new Offices were to be bought, and that the Reformed were to be advanced *gratis*, they did not agree with the Parliament in this respect; they petitioned the King upon that Subject, who, out of his wonted Goodness, was pleased to promise that their Offices should not be comprehended in the Number of the new ones.

But the great Business of this Year, wherein CXX. the Reformed were more nearly concerned, was Execution The Execution of the Edict, for which purpose of the Edict

Commissaries had been sent into the Provinces. they did not proceed equally every where, in some Places they were very strict, in some others less so, according to the Temper and other Circumstances of the Inhabitants; in some Places the Catholicks were more scrupulous, in others more moderate and tractable; on the other hand, there were some Places where the Reformed were strict and diligent, and others where they did their business with a great deal of Negligence: which Neglect of theirs was occasioned partly by that foolish Conceit of the approaching

Fall

Henry IV. Fall of the Antichrist, as if they had had ex-  
 1600. press Revelations upon that Subject; partly  
 Pope Cle- by a too fond Reliance on the Integrity  
 ment VIII of the Catholicks, which made them believe  
 that their Settlements being once made, they  
 would never be interrupted in the Enjoyment  
 thereof; and as they had no Thought of ever  
 encroaching upon the Catholicks, they were  
 in hopes that the Catholicks would do the same;  
 and partly because they believed that since these  
 Settlements were done at the sight of the Ca-  
 tholicks, and that the Grounds of their Right  
 was so publickly known, their Posterity would  
 never call in question what had been so evi-  
 dent and notorious in their Fathers time. But  
 from whence soever that Supineness proceeded,  
 their Children have abundantly felt the sad Ef-  
 fects thereof, and have had but too much rea-  
 son to blame their Fathers for it.

The Commissaries on their part behaved  
 themselves with all the Attention and Appli-  
 cation required from them. In order to pre-  
 serve a Right of Exercise, they made Inquiries,  
 and took Informations, they received Depo-  
 sitions of Catholick or Reformed Witnesses  
 impartially, they examined all the Titles and  
 Instruments that could be produced; either  
 they, or their Delegates went down to the  
 Places, when their Presence was required by  
 any of the Parties; they summoned the Officers  
 of the Places before them; they heard the  
 Clergy themselves in their Pretensions and De-  
 fences. The general Rule they followed was,  
 to examine the reciprocal Demands upon the  
 great Maxim of the Edict, to wit, to confirm  
 or establish things such as they were settled  
 by the Terms of the Edict. They kept them-  
 selves so exactly within the Bounds of that  
 Rule,

Rule, that they gave much uneasiness to the <sup>Henry IV.</sup> Reformed; I shall produce a single Instance. <sup>1600.</sup> The Article of the Edict of 1577, which that <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> of *Nantz* referred to, as to the Exercise of <sup>ment VIII</sup> the Reformed Religion in a certain Place, was worded in such a manner, that it afforded Matter to many Cavils; it declared that the Places wherein the Exercise of that Religion WAS SETTLED on the 17th of September, should enjoy for the future the Liberty thereof. Now that Expression *was settled*, being a little equivocal, the Commissaries would fain explain it, as if that Concession was granted only to Places wherein Divine Service had actually been performed upon the 17th of September of that Year, a Day that did fall in that Year upon a *Tuesday*, wherein it was not usual to keep any religious Assembly. They would not allow of an Exercise made on the *Sunday* before: They required precisely this Day without minding any other, which indeed was ridiculous; but the King was more equitable.

I shall not insist upon the Particulars of this Affair, what I have said is enough to give a Notion of the Method followed by the Commissaries, which Method occasioned many Cavils upon several Articles, especially upon that concerning the Burying-places. I shall observe only, 1<sup>o</sup>. That if the Catholicks were very rigorous and unreasonable in many Places, and upon several accounts, the Reformed were no less in some others, and gave too much way to their Resentment against their old Enemies in the Provinces where they prevailed; this they shewed forth in the choice they made of the new Places of Exercise which were to be granted them by the Edict, for instead of taking the most commodious for them, (in order to



Henry IV. to mortify the Clergy a little) they chose, as  
 1600. much as they could, the nearest of the Episcopal  
 Pope Cle- Cities. Those of *Nimes* demanded to have  
 went VIII that new Place at the *Bridge of the Holy Ghost*,  
 or at *Villeneuve d'Avignon*, which is parted  
 from *Avignon* but by the Breadth of the *Rhone*,  
 thereby to give the Pope the mortification to  
 see the Religion of his Enemies exercised at  
 the very Gates of a City whereof he is the  
 Sovereign. *A slender Satisfaction indeed, not  
 much worthy the Wisdom of our Ancestors!*

II°. It was impossible for the Commissaries,  
 who were to pass Judgment in so many Places,  
 and upon so many Affairs, always to please  
 both Parties; therefore there were Appeals on  
 both sides, and the King was to decide. But  
 the Reformed had almost every day the bet-  
 ter in those Decisions, and there are but very  
 few Instances wherein the Regulations of the  
 Commissaries have been corrected to their pre-  
 judice, but on the contrary, many there are  
 that were rectified to their advantage. From  
 whence it is plain, that the King's Intention  
 was, that the Articles of the Edict should not  
 be eluded by rigorous Constructions, since when-  
 ever there was any occasion for it, his Majesty  
 explained them himself to the advantage of  
 the Reformed.

1601. III°. But though the Commissaries had been  
 hard at work during part of this Year and the  
 next, there remained yet many things to be  
 executed. More especially, the Commissaries  
 had been deficient in the principal Point of their  
 Commission, to wit, to oblige all the Officers  
 in the Provinces to swear to the Observation  
 of the Edict, which could not be done in the  
 Places where they had not been as yet.  
 Wherefore the Deputies of the Reformed be-  
 ing

ng still assembled at *Saumur*, and fearing lest Henry VI. that Execution should remain imperfect upon <sup>1601.</sup> that account, and that they should lose many <sup>Pope Cle- ment VIII</sup> of their Rights, by the unequal manner they would proceed in every Place; they had a mind to continue their Assembly, and to remove themselves to *Loudun*. But the King would never allow it, and he sent them Orders to break up instantly.

The Queen Dowager *Louisa of Lorrain*, CXV. Widow of *Henry III.* died at *Moulins* the 29th <sup>The Queen Dowager's Death.</sup> of *January*, aged Forty-seven Years. That Princess, who may be considered as a Pattern of Virtue in so corrupted an Age, was Daughter to *Nicolas of Vaudemont*, and *Margaret of Egmont* his first Wife, Sister to the Count of that Name, who was beheaded by the cruel Duke of *Alva*. By her great Fastings, and other corporal Austerities, she brought herself into a Dropsy whereof she died (e). She appointed her Brother the Duke of *Mercœur*, her universal Heir, but he did not enjoy that Inheritance long, for he died the next Year at *Nuremberg*, after having performed Wonders in the War of the Emperor against the *Turks*.

On the 9th of *May* 1601, was held the six- CXXII. teenth National Synod at *Gergeau*, the Rev. Mr. <sup>The 16th National Synod.</sup> *George Pacard*, Minister of *Roche foucaud*, was chosen Moderator. They sent a Deputation to the King, beseeching him to grant the Continuation of the Assembly at *Loudun*; but his Majesty was inflexible for this time. He consented however that they should assemble again at *St. Foy*, the 15th of *October* next, for naming the Deputies that were to reside at Court, and present him the Petitions and Grievances, that might be sent to them from the Provinces.

Few

(e) Thuanus Lib. cxxv. He gives but Forty Years to that Princess, which is a Mistake; she was born in 1554.

Henry IV. Few matters of Moment were transacted in  
 1601. this Synod, besides the Examination of some  
 Pope Clement VIII Books about the Re-union of the two Reli-  
 gions, which had been published under several  
 Titles. They wrote again to *Les Diguiers*,  
 about the 17,000 Crowns which he unjustly  
 detained, but they received no more Satisfac-  
 tion than before. They wrote also to *Casaten*,  
 to congratulate him on his Constancy in Reli-  
 gion. They forbid Ministers to be the first  
 Aggressors in Disputes concerning Religion:  
 It appears that the Marquess of *Rosny* had been  
 very neglectful in paying the Churches the  
 45,000 Crowns allowed by the King for their  
 Maintenance, seeing that there were Arrear  
 due unto them for each of the three Years  
 past since the Grant. It appears also by the  
 List drawn up in this Synod, that the Number  
 of Churches amounted this Year to 753, a  
 great many whereof had Annexes which are  
 not reckoned. The Synod ended their Sessions  
 the 25th of *May* (f).

CXXIII. In *June*, the King forbid all manner of  
 The King Trade between his Subjects and those of Spain,  
 forbids Commerce with Spain on account of an Affront put upon his Am-  
 bassador at *Madrid*, and was like to revenge it  
 at the Point of his Sword: But the Duke of  
*Lermes* first Minister of *Spain*, who dreaded  
 the renewing of the War, as the Ruin of his  
 own Fortune, intreated the *Pope* in his Ma-  
 ster's Name, to mediate some Agreement be-  
 tween the two Courts, promising that his own  
 was ready to give all reasonable Satisfaction to  
 the King of *France*; the *Pope* having inter-  
 posed his good Offices with *Henry*, a Recon-  
 ciliation soon followed.

Now

(f) Aymon Synod. Nationaux Tom. I. Quick Synodis-  
 con. Tom. I.

Now Queen *Elizabeth* was earnestly desirous to see the King, to impart unto him the Ways and Means she revolved in her Mind for the humbling of the House of *Austria*; for which purpose she had proposed an Interview upon Sea between *Calais* and *Dover*. Accordingly the King set out for *Calais* by the latter end of *August*, or beginning of *September*, but while he was there, he received News that very likely the Queen his Consort was very near her time; therefore he set out with all diligence to be present at her Lying-in, and sent the Marshal of *Biron* with a numerous Retinue to pay his Compliment to Queen *Elizabeth*, and make his Excuses upon this Disappointment. The Marquess of *Rafry*, to whom the King trusted intirely for the most important Affairs, had preceded *in-cognito* the Duke of *Biron*, with Orders to know her Majesty's Intentions.

The Queen was safely delivered of a Prince the 27th of *September*; the Pope was his God-father, and gave him the Name of *Lewis*. The King was overjoyed on this Occasion, as were all true *Frenchmen*, (though *Mezeray* observes that this Birth was preceded by an Earthquake, which was taken as an Omen of the great Commotions which happened under his Reign) they saw by that Birth all the Seeds of Civil War suppressed, which the several Pretensions to the Crown might have produced, had *Henry* died without a lawful Heir. But that did not hinder the *Spaniards* from preparing themselves to sow Divisions in the Kingdom; their Emissaries spread industriously a Rumour amongst the People, that the King having promised under his Hand to marry the Marchioness of *Verneuil*, before he was married with *Mary of Medicis*, it was a dubious thing,

Henry IV.  
1601.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII  
He goes to  
Calais.

CXXIV.  
Birth of a  
Dauphin.

Henry IV. thing, whether the Succession to the Crown  
 1601. belonged to the Children of that Princess, ra-  
 Pope Cle- ther than the Marchioness's.  
 ment VII

In order to understand this, one must know that after the Dutcheſs of *Beaufort's* Death, the King, whose Heart was not used to be free, was taken with the Charms of *Henrietta De Balsac*, Daughter to the Lord of *Entragues*, and of *Mary Touchet*, formerly Mistress of the late *Charles IX.* She was very jovial, sprightly, witty and engaging, but exceedingly ambitious: Her Parents desiring to improve this Opportunity for the Advancement of their Fortune, kept her very close, lest the King's Flame might be extinguished through the Enjoyment; their Daughter seconded perfectly well their Design, for tho' she had received of his Majesty a Gift of 100,000 Crowns ready Money, nevertheless, she feigned that her Parents were so scrupulous, that they would not consent that she should comply with his Desires, unless he would pleased to give her a Promise of Marriage under his Hand, and by her constant Refusals and a feigned Modesty, she heated the King's Passion to that degree, that at last he granted the said Promise, whereby he did bind himself to marry her in a Year's time, provided that in that time she should be deliver'd of a Son. That Promise was dated the latter End of the last Year, and occasioned much trouble, for the Lady did all her Endeavours to make it declared good. Now whether his Majesty's Ministers were afraid lest their Master would be as good as his Word, or for some other Reason, *Sillery* and *D'Ossat* hastened as much as they could the Conclusion of the Match with *Mary of Medicis*, and the King found himself bound with her, almost unaware.

It

It cannot be conceived what trouble *Henrietta*, Henry IV. 1601. who had been created Marchioness of *Verneuil* Pope Clement VIII a little after her Consent, was at, when she received the News; she saw herself fallen from the great hopes she had of wearing a Crown, nevertheless she dissembled: but the Count of *Auvergne* her Uterine Brother, as much out of the Wickedness of his own Temper, as out of Resentment, resolved to be revenged upon the King; he joined himself with the Malecontents, and altogether plotted to shut up the King in a Prison, to deprive him of his Crown, and to bestow it upon another Prince of the Blood. His Majesty had some hint of this Plot during his Expedition in *Savoy*, which made him agree to a Peace sooner than very likely he would have done. The Count however continued his Intrigues, and this Plot being discovered, he leagued himself with the Marshal Duke of *Biron*, and some others, and kept secret Correspondences with *Spain*, and other Enemies of the State.

Such was the Situation of Affairs when the *Dauphin* was born, the *Spanish* Faction, who missed no Opportunity of sowing Division in the State, took this for raising Scruples in the Peoples Minds, concerning the Lawfulness of the King's Marriage with *Mary of Medicis*: There were some *Spanish* Casuists who questioned whether the Dispensation had been truly obtained. Some Preachers in the *Low Countries* were bold enough to assert the Negative in their Sermons; and at divers times Libels were dispersed in publick about that matter.

The Deputies of the Reformed met together CXXV: A Political Assembly at at *St. Foy*, on the 15th of *October*, as the King St. Foy. had promised them; their chief Business was

Henry IV. to name some Deputies to reside at Court, and  
 1601. take care of the Affairs of the Churches; but  
 Pope Cle- they did not stop here, for they took into their  
 ment VIII  
 Consideration several things which concerned  
 the Welfare of the whole Body in general, and  
 of each individual Part thereof in particular,  
 and drew up a Petition to be presented to the  
 King.

Two Months or thereabout before this Assembly, his Majesty had favourably received a Bill of Grievances tendered unto him by the late Assembly. They complained that in *Dauphiné* the Reformed were obliged to pay Land-Taxes for their Churches and their Church-yards; that in several Places their Poor were depriv'd of publick Alms, and that their Sick were forcibly sent out of the Hospitals; that at *Bordeaux* and *Saintes*, the Magistrates attempted to seize upon the Money that was gathered for the Poor at their Church-Doors; that at *Rouën* they refused to receive the Petitions presented in Parliament, in the name of a Church or of a Corporation, or Commonalty reformed, on account of their Religion; that at *Orleans* and elsewhere, they obliged the civil Officers at their Admission into their Office, to take an Oath to live in the *Roman* Religion; that at *Gergeau*, the King's Attorney had deposed his Substitute, only on account of his Religion; that at *Lyons*, the Knight of the Watch had got it into his Head to accompany their Funerals, for which he extorted extravagant Fees from them; and that the Keepers of the Hospital of the Bridge upon the *Rhône*, disturbed their Funerals as much as they could. The King had been graciously pleased to grant them, upon all these Articles, whatever they could reasonably expect. He granted likewise, that the Churches of the  
 Country

Country of *Gex*, should be preserved in the same State they were in at the Union of that Country to the Crown; and that the Reformed should trade in all the Dominions of the Duke of *Savoy*, without being molested for their Religion, according to the 53d of the private Articles of the Edict of *Nantz*. Henry IV. 1601. Pope Clement VIII

The Assembly of *St. Foy* having congratulated the King on the Peace lately made with the Duke of *Savoy*, and on the Birth of the *Dauphin*, required the Redintegration of the last Edict of *Nantz*, such as it had been agreed and granted at first in this City; they pretended that the King had promised them such a Redintegration as soon as the Affairs of the Kingdom could permit it. Then they insisted that those Parliaments which had verified the Edict, but under certain Restrictions and Modifications, should be obliged to make them void; that certain Exemptions should be granted to the Colleges which the Reformed should found; and other Articles concerning the Chambers of the Edict.

This first Petition was followed by another; and whereas the Assembly had been informed that the Court denied absolutely the first Article of the former, they thought proper to insist again upon the thing itself, and to lay aside the Name; therefore they required that the Edict should be executed throughout the whole Kingdom, such as it had been verified at *Paris*, whereby they reserved to themselves the hopes of restoring one time or other, the Breaches which the King's Council had made unto it, and seemed to accept of it only by Provision. Many other Articles were added concerning the Manner how the Edict ought to be executed; the Privileges of their Cham-



Henry IV. bers, and of the Presidents and Counsellors Re-  
<sup>1601.</sup>  
 Pope Cle- formed Members thereof: For the Catholicks  
 ment VIII pretended that these Chambers, either of the Edict  
 or mixt, ought to be under the Jurisdiction of  
 the Parliaments, and under their Dependance;  
 and that the Catholick Presidents or Counsel-  
 lors ought to have the Precedency before the  
 Reformed, though their Reception was of a  
 newer Date than these; whereto the Reformed  
 could not comply at all, the First, as contrary  
 to the Edict; and the Second, as contrary to  
 Right Reason. They required also some other  
 Privileges for these Chambers; and above all,  
 to find out some means to preserve the Re-  
 formed from the Rigour of the Parliaments of  
*Tboulouse, Bourdeaux and Grenoble*, from whom  
 they could expect no Justice. As to the Af-  
 fairs, the Cognizance whereof was taken from  
 the Chambers of the Edict, they required se-  
 veral other like Regulations for the Provinces,  
 for the Offices, and for the cautionary Towns  
 that were in their hands, &c.

The first Petition was answered only in  
*March* 1602; the Court denied ever to have  
 made any such Promise of reintegrating the  
 Edict, such as it was when signed at first at  
*Nantz*, and consequently refused to make any  
 alteration: but as to the other Articles, the  
 King gave them what Satisfaction they demand-  
 ed. The second Petition remained a long  
 while in the hands of the Council, at last they  
 were variously answered in the Month of *Aug-  
 ust* 1602: Some of the Articles were purely  
 and simply granted, others extended and am-  
 plify'd, others partly granted and partly re-  
 fused, and others absolutely refused. There  
 were many on which the Council took time  
 to consult the King's learned Council, for re-  
 solving

solving after their Advice: some others where-  
 upon the King ordered the concerned Parties  
 should sue before him by way of Petitions: some  
 others whereupon he desired to see the Decrees,  
 and Acts mentioned in them: some others the  
 full Cognizance whereof he reserved to him-  
 self, to ordain what he should think proper.  
 But in general, all the Answers were temper-  
 ed with such a Spirit of Goodness and Equity,  
 that plainly discovered what were the King's  
 secret Intentions, and that he willed without  
 any Disguise or Equivocation, that his Edict  
 should be observed, and that the Difficulties  
 that arose upon the Execution thereof should  
 be favourably explained. Which Intention he  
 was pleased to shew forth by the Orders he  
 sent to the Parliaments, Governors and other  
 Magistrates in the Provinces, in behalf of his  
 Reformed Subjects: and indeed during the  
 remaining part of his Reign, he gave sufficient  
 proofs that he loved them sincerely.

Therefore I cannot join in opinion with the  
 learned Historian of the Edict of *Nantz*, who  
 acknowledging these the King's good Intentions  
 and Will in behalf of the Reformed, never-  
 theless ascribes to him some far-fetched politi-  
 cal View in the Settlement of the Deputies that  
 were to reside near his Person, and take care  
 of the Affairs of the Reformed Churches, and  
 which took place only some twenty or twenty-  
 five Years after, as if the King had had a mind  
 to suppress intirely these political Assemblies.  
 True it is, that his Majesty's Intention was to  
 render them less frequent. The Reason there-  
 of, besides that which is common to all Princes,  
 who are not well pleased to see their Conduct  
 and Government controll'd by their Subjects,  
 represented in the States by their Deputies,

Henry IV. (for these political Assemblies are to be considered as the States of the Reformed) besides that, I say, Suspicions and Jealousies were at this time very rife in the Kingdom; the Reformed were told by the King's Enemies that a Plot was laid against them for their utter Destruction: On the other hand, the King was given to understand, that some of the greatest Lords in the Reformed Party did their Endeavours to raise Suspicions and Jealousies in the Minds of their Party, and to foment Discontents amongst them, which might prove of bad Consequence, if not prevented in time. The Reluctancy which the Assembly at *Loudun* had shewn for breaking up when the King order'd them, colour'd those false Reports. These Mistrusts and Jealousies occasioned this new Settlement of Deputies to reside at Court. At first they were nominated by the Reformed themselves, but a few Years after, the King ordered that they should name six Persons, out of which he should pick two. Their time of Service was to be one Year, but his Majesty obtain'd within a little time that their Commission should last for three Years: their Salary was to be paid out of the King's Purse, but at the Synod of *Gap*, they resolved that if the Deputies did not receive the whole Payment of the Salary promised by the Court, that Deficiency should be made good out of the Sums granted by the King for the Subsistence of the Churches, and for the keeping of the Garisons: and this they enacted on purpose to tye the better these Deputies to the Interest of the Churches. But all these Regulations were quite altered under *Lewis XIII.* and *XIV.* as we shall observe in its proper place. The first that held that Office, were the Lord of *St.*

*Ger-*

*Germain*, and Mr. *Des Bordes*; they were named <sup>Henry IV.</sup> by the Assembly at *St. Foy* for a Year, but <sup>1601.</sup> were continued by the Synod of *Gap*; the First <sup>Pope Clement VIII</sup> was taken out of the Nobility, the Second out of the Commons; they had a mind to subjoin another out of the Body of the Ministers, but the Court did not agree to that.

*Henry of Chatillon*, Grand-son to the Admiral of *Coligny*, was killed in the Month of *September*, with a Cannon-shot, at *Ostend*, besieged by Arch-duke *Albert*. That young Lord was very promising, he was naturally inclined to War, and was endowed with all the Parts and Qualifications which constitute a Hero; especially he was extremely well beloved by the soldiery. It is said that he had such an Interest in the Army of the *States*, that Prince *Maurice of Nassaw* look'd on him with an Eye of Jealousy. His Interest was not less amongst the Reformed in *France*, who descried in him the like Virtues as in his Father and his Grandfather. He spoke always of their Actions, and aspired to the Glory of being their Imitator: he wished ardently to be like his Grandfather, at the Head of the Reformed, and to give a Battle for their Cause. His Death was much lamented in *France* and *Holland* (g.)

But there were very dangerous Motions in the State, which were stirred up by foreign Intrigues. The Court was full of Malecontents, and engaged therein under divers Pretences. *Biron*, a Man of a presumptuous Spirit, and without judgment, was so deeply involv'd in them, that it cost him his Life. But whereas it was believ'd, that the King was yet strong enough to quash this Conspiracy, as long as he had the Reformed on his side, nothing was left undone.

B b 4

to.

Henry IV. to engage them in that dangerous Party. From  
 1602. the beginning of last Year, they had receiv'd Ad-  
 Pope Cle- vice, as above said, as by way of Friendship, that  
 ment VIII the Peace of the State was the way to their Ruin;  
 that a powerful League had been concluded  
 against them, while they were negotiating the  
 Peace of *Savoy*; that the Scheme for a kind of  
 Croisado against them had been drawn up;  
 that the Catholick Princes had sworn it by their  
 Deputies, upon the Sacrament administred to  
 them by the Legate; that each of them was  
 assessed to a certain Sum, and a certain number  
 of Soldiers; that this League was to last till  
 the Protestant Religion should be utterly de-  
 stroyed; that there were two Originals of this  
 Treaty signed by the *Pope*, the King of *Spain*,  
 and the Duke of *Savoy*; that the said Duke  
 had one of them by himself, which he offer'd  
 to put into the hands of the Reformed. They  
 were then offered, if they would enter  
 into an Association with the said Duke, and  
 the Malecontent Catholicks of the Kingdom,  
 to be put in possession of all the Western Part  
 of *France* parted by the *Loire*; then what they  
 should or could conquer in *Dauphiné* by their  
 own Forces, provided that they should not pass  
 these Limits, and that they should leave the Ca-  
 tholicks free to do what they pleas'd with the  
 other part of the Kingdom; they were to have  
 the Government of two of the most important  
 Cities in the District of the Catholicks, and be-  
 sides that 200,000 Crowns for their Armament,  
 and the like Sum yearly for discharging the  
 Expences of the War, as long as it should last.  
 No Peace or Agreement should be treated or  
 concluded without their Consent; for Security  
 thereof, the Cities of *Lyons* and *Dijon* should  
 be immediately deliver'd into their hands.

These

These Propositions had been sent to the Duke Henry IV. of *Bouillon*, by a Person unknown; whereupon, though he was sensible enough of the Ridiculousness of these Propositions, and that they were but a Device to cast the Kingdom into new Troubles, whereof its ancient and irreconcilable Enemies were to make their Profit; nevertheless, because the whole Body of the Reformed were concerned in them, he thought proper to communicate them to some of the Chief, in a certain number great enough for giving notice thereof to the whole Body, if there was any necessity, and nevertheless little enough that the Secret might be kept the better: they were nine in all, who having heard the Proposals, and considered some Letters of some Presidents in the Parliament of *Paris*, voted all unanimously, that they ought to let those wicked Disturbers of the publick Peace vent out their Passions, which would redound to their own Shame without being Partakers therein; and in the mean while, to take proper measures for avoiding either the Blame of Indiscretion, or the Crime of High Treason (*b*).

The Rev. Mr. *Benoit* pretends, that that Advice of a League sworn against the Reformed, was confirmed by another given to the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*, by one *Brochard Baronius*, who called himself Nephew of the Cardinal of that Name, and who pretended to be sent by the Pope to the Catholick Princes, to make them sign that Scheme of a new Croisade; and that having not been rewarded as he expected, he went into *Germany* and *Holland*, where he made the same Discoveries as he did to the Duke

(*b*) D'Aubigné Tom. III. Liv. 5. ch. 13. But he don't name the Duke of *Bouillon*; I do name him by Conjecture, grounded upon the Misfortune that beset him about this Time, only for not having revealed what he knew.

Henry IV. Duke of *Bouillon*. But whereas the said Historian, according to his Custom, quotes no Authority for what he says, and that I have found <sup>1602.</sup> *Pope Clement VIII* nothing in the Historians or Memoirs, &c. of those days, that I know of, which could afford me the least Light upon that Subject; I don't think proper to assert the truth of such a thing, which has happened, if ever, above 90 Years before Mr. *Benoit* wrote that Transaction (i).

The truth is, that there was a great ferment kept up by the false Rumours which the Enemies of the State caused this Year to resound to the People's Ears, viz. that the King was going to retrench two Thirds of their Allowances; that they should receive no longer any private Pension of him, that he would not prolong the Term for the keeping of their cautionary Towns; that they would be admitted no longer into any Employment without their turning Catholics. These Calumnies industriously spread abroad by the Factious, were of a Consequence so much the more dangerous, that People in the Provinces were in a great Ferment, on account of a Tax of a Penny *per Livre*, which they were obliged to pay since the Year 1596. Nevertheless, very few amongst the Reformed were moved at the false Reports above mentioned, and none stirred out upon that account.

The Tax of a Penny *per Livre* granted to the King, by the Notables of the whole Kingdom, assembled at *Rouen* in 1596, upon the Estates, Monies, Goods, Merchandise of all his Subjects, for supporting the necessary Charges of the War against the *Spaniards*, who had then seized upon *Amiens*, was very burthensome and grievous upon the Subject: for in every

(i) *Benoit Hist. de L'Edit de Nantes*, Tom. I. Liv. 8.

every City, the Merchants were searched, and Henry IV. the Goods and Merchandise were unpack'd; <sup>1602.</sup> every one was obliged to show what he carried, <sup>Pope Cle- ment VIII</sup> either in his Pockets or otherwise, so that there was no Liberty left in the Kingdom, either for Merchants or Travellers. Besides that, that Tax was exorbitant: for there are such Goods as were sold ten or twelve times from one to another, and so it happened, sometimes, that their Value was scarce sufficient to pay that Tax, because, every time they were sold, they were obliged to pay a Penny per Livre. Moreover they were at a great Charge to raise it, for a great Number of Clerks were employed for that purpose, who, endeavouring to raise their Fortune, and to live as luxuriously as their Masters, exposed the Merchants to many Vexations, for which they could obtain no Redress.

Their Patience being quite tired out, they CXXVIII attempted to do themselves justice, especially <sup>The King goes to Poitiers to appease them.</sup> in the Southern Provinces. The King having Notice of these Commotions, was afraid lest they should be excited by the Emissaries of the Duke of *Biron* and the Count of *Auvergne*, whose Plot his Majesty had but just now discovered; therefore, a little after *Easter*, he set out from *Fontainebleau* and came to *Blois*, and from thence to *Poitiers*, where he most graciously and favourably received the Petitions, and hearkened unto the Complaints of his People: He remonstrated to the Deputies of *Guienne*, ' That the Taxes which were laid upon his ' Subjects were not employed to enrich his Ministers and Favourites, as his Predecessors had ' done, but to support the necessary Charges of the ' Government; that had his own Demesne been ' sufficient for that purpose, he would never ' have taken any thing from his People, but ' having



Henry IV. 1602. Pope Clement VIII  
 having been obliged to lay out his own Patrimony upon that account, it was but just that they should contribute of their own for their own Defence and Preservation; that he earnestly desired to relieve and ease his People, that they might earnestly pray for the Prosperity of his Reign; that the Suspicions and Jealousies they had conceived, as if he had a mind to build Citadels in their Cities, were ill grounded, and the Effects only of the Malice of the Enemies of the State; that he desired to build no other Citadels but in the very Hearts of his Subjects (k).<sup>9</sup>

By these kind Remonstrances he put an end to the Seditions, and there was no need of any other Punishment, only the Consuls of *Limoges* were deposed, and two or three were executed, and the *Pancart* was settled again, (so they called the Tax of a Penny per Livre) but it was only to preserve the Royal Authority; for that good and great Prince, sensible of the great Vexations caused by it, revoked it and abolished it intirely, a few Weeks after (l).

CXXIX. But there was another thing which much perplexed the King, to wit, *Biron's* Conspiracy. That Lord, who certainly was one of the greatest Captains of his time, to whom the King and the Kingdom stood much indebted for the many faithful and important Services he had done to the Crown and his Country, was exceedingly self-conceited and proud, thinking that it was not in the King's power to reward sufficiently his Services, whatever Dignities, Honours, Employments, Riches he could heap upon him; besides which, he was exceedingly

passionate;  
 (k) *Memoires de Sully*, Tom II. chap. 10. *Mezerai*, Part III. Tom. VI. Prefixe *Hist. de Henry IV.* p. 357. Edit. d'Amst. 1664. (l) *Id. Ibid.* Thuan. Lib. 123, ad Init.

passionate, and when in a passion, he spared Henry IV. Nobody, not even Majesty itself, but vented <sup>1602.</sup> out, in a *Braggadocio's* way, whatever he had <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> in his Thoughts. Now the Duke of *Savoy* be- <sup>ment VIII</sup> ing come to Court, as above said, less for treating with his Majesty upon reasonable Terms for the Marquisate of *Saluces*, than to pervert some of the greatest Lords and debauch them from their Allegiance; accordingly, as he saw that he could not impose upon the King to obtain his Ends by his Cunning and Artifice, he undertook to sow Jealousies amongst the Courtiers, and to increase the Discontents of those who thought themselves ill rewarded for their past Services; on which account he observed all the dis- obliging Words which the King let drop, against the one or the other, and caused them to be reported to the Person concerned: for that purpose, he made use of *James De La Fin*, a Lord of a very noble Extraction, Uncle to *Pregent De La Fin*, Vidame of *Chartres*, but the basest and wickedest of all the Villains of his Time, for which Reason he durst not show his Face, publickly, at Court; he was intimate with the Marshal Duke of *Biron*, and had already began a Correspondence between that Lord and the Duke of *Savoy*.

This Prince being thoroughly acquainted with the Marshal's Character and Temper, affected upon all Occasions to speak with the greatest Encomiums of his great Feats and Merits; he extolled to the Skies, when he was with his Majesty, the Courage, Fortitude, Magnanimity, Presence of Mind, and other great Parts of *Biron*, in the Command of the Armies. One day, as he was upon that Subject, the King told him, that many there were who judged wrong of his own Affairs; that he had much more trouble in setting Peace and Concord amongst

Henry IV. amongst his own Subjects, than in subduing his  
 1602. Enemies ; that very often he had received more  
 Harm and Damage from his own, than from  
 his open Enemies, and that through the rough  
 and untractable Spirit of the Marshal of *Biron*,  
 and of the Duke his Son. This he spoke with  
 some Sharpness and Passion ; which Words  
 were curiously collected by the Duke of *Savoy*,  
 and by him instantly reported to *Biron*, by the  
 means of *La Fin*, who failed not to magnify the  
 Object both as to the Words themselves, and  
 as to the Manner they had been spoken. The  
 Marshal, who was exceedingly violent in his  
 Passions, fell into a rage at the hearing of this,  
 and said, that had he been present when these  
 Words had been spoken, he would have filled  
 up with Blood the place where they were  
 spoken, even at the peril of his own (*m*). He  
 held a Conference with the Duke of *Savoy*, at  
*Conflans* near *Paris*, and began a Treaty with  
 him, carried on afterwards by *La Fin* : before  
 and during the Expedition of *Savoy*, he con-  
 tinued the same Correspondence with the said  
 Duke, and the Count of *Fuentes*, the Spanish  
 Governor of *Milan*. But the King being come  
 to *Lyons*, there to meet the Queen his Consort  
 just then arriv'd from *Italy*, he follow'd thither  
 his Majesty, and made him freely a thorough  
 Confession of his Crimes and Misdemeanours,  
 for which his Majesty granted him his most  
 gracious Pardon, upon promise that for the  
 future he should behave himself as it became  
 a loyal and faithful Subject (*n*). It is said that  
 after this Conference, he met with the Duke  
 of *Espernon*, to whom he told what he had de-  
 clared

(*m*) Thuanus Lib. cxxiii. p. 888, 889.

(*n*) Id. Ibid. But as to this *Biron*'s Confession, see Peter Mathiew's Hist. of Henry IV. Tom. II. Liv. v. Serres Hist. de France, Tom II.

clared to his Majesty, and the free Pardon he Henry IV. 1602. Pope Clement VIII  
 had obtained; whereupon the Duke asked him  
 whether he had obtained an Act of Abolition?  
 To which the Marshal answer'd, that the Duke  
 of *Biron* ought not to be treated as other Sub-  
 jects of the common sort, and that the King's  
 Word was sufficient for him (o).

*Biron* persevered not long in these good Dis-  
 positions of Loyalty to his King; a little after  
 he wrote to *La Fin*, who was then at *Milan*;  
 and being come back to *Bourg* in *Brescia*, he  
 sent *De Bosco* to forward the Negotiation which  
 was continued at *Some*, between the Duke of  
*Savoy*, *Fuentes* and *La Fin*. But this Man be-  
 ing suspected by the Count, and the Duke of  
*Biron*, and understanding that Baron *De Lux*  
 was got into the Confidence of *Biron*, he re-  
 solv'd to be reveng'd, and to make, for that  
 purpose, a full Discovery of all the Intrigues,  
 Plots, and Conspiracies, wherein the said Mar-  
 shal was engaged, and whereof he himself had  
 been the Author and Abettor. For that end he set  
 out from *Milan*, and suspecting something from  
 the Count of *Fuentes* or the Duke of *Savoy*, he  
 took his way thro' the *Grisons*, *Basil*, *Porentru*  
 and *Besançon*, and avoided by that means the Fate  
 of his Secretary *Renazé*, who coming thro' *Savoy*,  
 was arrested Prisoner by the Duke's Orders.

*La Fin* being arrived in *France*, solicited his  
 Pardon, by the means of his Nephew the Vi-  
 dame of *Chartres*, promising to reveal the  
 whole Mystery to his Majesty; which Pardon  
 being granted in due form, he sent word to  
 the Marshal, that he could not delay any longer  
 his going to Court, being summoned by the  
 King, and that he desired him to let him know  
 what he should say to his Majesty concerning  
 their

(o) Pierre Mathiew, *ibid.*

Henry IV. their past Transactions. *Biron* answered, that  
<sup>1602.</sup>  
*Pope Cle-* he desired him to dispatch out of the way all  
*ment VIII* those who had been Accomplices with him in  
 his Negotiations in *Italy*, to put all his Papers  
 in a Place of Safety, if he had not burnt them  
 already, and to remember that he had in  
 his power his Life, his Fortune, his Honour  
 and his All. All this while the said Marshal  
 continued his Practices in *Spain* and *Savoy*:  
 Spurred by his own Ambition, he neglected no-  
 thing that was in his power to compass his  
 Ends; he had been promised to have for his  
 Share the Sovereignty of *Burgundy* and *Brescia*,  
 to marry the third Daughter of the Duke of  
*Savoy*, with 500,000 Crowns Portion, and  
 such other like Advantages. *Spain* and *Savoy*  
 made great Armaments by Sea and Land under  
 very frivolous Pretences, but really for falling  
 upon *Provence*, *Dauphiné*, &c. The Misfor-  
 tune of the Kingdom was very near to be com-  
 pleted, had not *La Fin* revealed the Secret  
 time enough to prevent it.

He came to *Fontainbleau*, had several Con-  
 ferences with the King and his chief Ministers,  
 opened the whole Plot, charged several Lords  
 of the first Rank with being privy or accessory  
 to this Conspiracy, and delivered to the Chan-  
 cellor several Letters of the Marshal of *Biron*,  
 and other Papers, especially a long Memoir  
 containing the Particulars of the said Plot, and  
 the Ways and Means of executing it, written  
 with *Biron's* own hand. All this Discovery  
 was kept very secret. Though the King was  
 touch'd to the quick with it, nevertheless he  
 dissembled so far, that he told Baron *De Lux*,  
 who was come to Court upon some private  
 Business, that he was very well pleased with  
 the Account *La Fin* had given him of the  
 Marshal

Marshal of *Biron's* Conduct, whereby he was <sup>Henry IV.</sup> fully satisfied as to certain Designs that were <sup>1602.</sup> laid to his charge, and that he desired him to <sup>Pope Clement VIII</sup> persist in his Loyalty. On the other hand,

*La Fin* wrote to the Marshal, to certify him that he had said nothing which might do any Prejudice to him, or create unto him the least Uneasiness. Such ways were then necessary not to scare the Marshal, and to engage him to come to Court, as the King desired him. That was the difficult Point; for being conscious of his own Guilt, and receiving frequent Intelligences from Court which dissuaded him to comply, he was very averse from that Journey, and refused upon several frivolous Pretences to yield to the King's Command, 'till President *Janin* was sent unto him, who at last prevailed upon him to come to Court.

The Orders which the King had sent to the Governors of the Southern Provinces to be upon their Guard, to watch the Motions of the *Spaniards*, and to put themselves in a State of Defence; the good Success his Majesty had been attended with in his Journey in *Poitou*, and other Provinces of the *Orleanese*; the Resolution he knew the King was in, to come himself to fetch him out of his Government, if he persisted in his Disobedience; and the proud and extravagant Conceit he had of himself, just as if the Kingdom could not subsist without him, so that no body could be so daring as to attack him; were, conjointly with *Janin's* Insinuations and fine Promises, the chief things which at last overcame his great Reluctancy.

He set out from *Dijon* by the beginning of *June*, and arrived at *Fontainebleau* on the 13th, <sup>He comes to Court.</sup> when he was little expected. When he had paid his Respects to the King, his Majesty took him

**Henry VIII.** ~~while in the Gardens,~~ and exhorted him to a thorough and genuine Confession of what he had plotted <sup>1542</sup> ~~for the~~ <sup>against him and the Kingdom,</sup> whereof, he said, ~~he was already~~ <sup>he was already</sup> thoroughly informed, but he desired to have an Account of it out of his own Mouth, promising him that the matter should not proceed any further, and that he would forgive him, if he would now but deal sincerely with him. But *Biron* was too haughty to humble himself, and too hardened to be moved by such a kind Invitation: he told his Majesty, that he was not come to justify himself, but to require Justice against his Accusers, or to have Liberty of doing it himself; and several other *Redemntades*, more becoming a Knight Errant than a Man of his Character, and under his Circumstances.

His Majesty held an extraordinary Council, and desired the Opinion of the Judges, whether the Charges and the Evidences against the Marshal Duke, were full enough to have him condemned; he was answered unanimously in the Affirmative. Nevertheless he felt such a Reluctancy, to bring to his utter Ruin a Man whom he had so much loved, and who had so well deserved of the Kingdom and of himself, that he resolved to try again whether he could bring him to an Acknowledgement of his Fault, and to a Sense of his Duty: but tho' he intreated him two or three times more, tho' he sent unto him the Count of *Scissons* upon the same account; far from prevailing, *Biron* grew more and more saucy and fierce, the last time more than he had been the first.

*He is arrested.* At which his Majesty being justly provoked, gave Orders to *Vitry*, Captain of his Guards, to arrest him; which however was not executed without having once again tryed to bring him to

to own his Crimes, but in vain, so that he was arrested in the Palace at *Fontainebleau*; and at the same time the Count of *Auvergne* was likewise arrested in the same Palace by *Praslin*. The next day, which was the 15th of *June*, they were both carried by water to the *Bastile*. Three days after, *Biron's* Brothers, and several others of his Relations, came to the King to implore his Mercy in the Prisoner's behalf; but his Majesty was inflexible, only he granted them full liberty to vindicate his Innocence, if they could, by all lawful Means.

Henry IV.  
1602.  
Pope Clement VIII

The King named four Commissaries to draw up the Charge against the Prisoner, viz. *Nicholas Du Harlay*, First President of the Parliament of *Paris*, *Nicholas Potter*, Second President, *Stephen de Fleury*, and *Philibert de Thurin*, Counsellors in the same. They went to the *Bastile*, and interrogated the Marshal; he was in such a Passion, that his Answers betrayed his Guilt, and made more against him than for him. Then being asked what Character he could give of *La Fin*, he gave him one of the best, adding, that he took him for his Friend; but when he saw him before his face asserting the Truth of whatever he had deposed, decyphering some new Letters, giving new Lights upon the whole Affair, he quite altered his Language: *La Fin* was then no better than a *Sodomite*, a *Conjurer*, and the worst of all Mankind; and added, that was *Renazé* alive and present, he would give him the Lye. That Man was *La Fin's* Secretary, who, as above said, had been arrested in *Savoy*, by the Duke of that Country's Orders, and *Biron* thought that he had been put to death by this time; but how great was his surprise, when that very same Man was brought before his Face, who confirmed whatever his

He is examined and tried.



Henry VI. Master *La Fin* had deposed? (for having bribed  
 1602. his Guards, he made his Escape with them,  
*Pope Cle* and was arrived *incognito* at *Paris* one day be-  
*ment VIII* fore). He was quite confounded at that sight,  
 and imagined that Hell had conspired his Ruin;  
 at least, that the Courts of *Spain* and *Savoy* de-  
 sired no better than to be rid of him.

All the Informations being taken, and his Cause being drawn up in form, he was brought to the Parliament in order to be tryed; the Peers of the Realm had declined to assist at that melancholy Ceremony. The Chancellor had reduced the whole Charge to these five chief Articles.

I°. To have conferred with one *Picoté* of *Orleans*, a violent Leaguer, who was a Fugitive in *Flanders*, for contriving a Correspondence with the Arch-Duke, and to have given him 150 Crowns, for two Voyages he had made to *France* for that purpose.

II°. To have treated with the Duke of *Savoy*, three Days after that Prince was arrived at *Paris*, without the King's Licence, and to have offered unto him all Assistance and Service for and against every one, in certain Assurance of marrying his third Daughter.

III°. To have sent notice by *Renazé*, written with his own hand to the Governor of *St. Catherine's-Fort*; that he would bring his Majesty before the said Fort, upon such a day and such a time, that he would give him such a Sign, and let him know what Coat he should wear, and what Horse he should ride that Day, to avoid any Mistake; and that he might aim at the King, and kill him, either by firing the Cannon or by some Ambush.

IV°. To

IV°. To have dispatched oftentimes *La Fin* Henry IV. to treat with the Duke of *Savoy* and the Count <sup>1602.</sup> of *Fuentes*, against the King's Service. *Pope Clement VIII*

V°. To have held secret Intelligence with the Duke of *Savoy*, in the taking of *Bourg* and other Places, advising him to fall upon the King's Army, and even upon his Royal Person unawares, and to have given him several other important Advices.

The three first and the last of these Articles contained nothing else but what *Biron* had transacted before and during the King's Expedition in *Savoy*, which consequently could not be laid justly to his charge, seeing that his Majesty had granted him his most gracious Pardon at *Lyons*, for whatever was past, had not *Biron* persisted in his wicked Course; but his Obstinacy rendered him unworthy of any Favour, and obliged the King to revoke by his Letters under the Great Seal, the free Pardon he had granted him at *Lyons* about eighteen Months before.

The Marshal spoke much better to the purpose upon the Stool in the *Parliament*, than he had done before his Commissaries in the *Bastile*; he pleaded the King's former Pardon, he represented his past Services to the Crown and the Kingdom, and ascribing whatever was amiss in his Behaviour to the Violence of his Temper, he pretended that having never been beyond the Intention, Words or Writings ought not to be punished after the Severity of the Law, but rather to be ballanced with his Actions, and those great Feats whereby he had saved the State from utter Ruin. His Speech was so moving, that his Judges could not refrain from Tears; but his Crime was so well proved,

Henry IV. proved, either by his own Confession or by his  
 1602. own Writings, or by the Depositions of the  
 Pope Cle- Witnesses, and by several other Circumstances;  
 ment VIII and he had abused for so long time the King's  
 Patience and Forbearance, that he was unani-  
 mously condemned to be beheaded.

*He is con-  
 demned,  
 and exe-  
 cuted.*

Two Days after, the Chancellor went to the *Bastile* to pronounce the Sentence, and he was executed in the Evening in the Yard.

So died *Charles de Gontaud* Duke of *Biron*, Marshal of *France*, Governor of *Burgundy*, one of the greatest Captains of his time in *Eu-  
 rope*, illustrious for having rescued his Country from the *Spanish* Bondage, and for the many Favours and Honours which he had deservedly received of his Master, and no less renowned for his Ungratefulness; his Pride and boundless Ambition occasioned his Crime, and his Crime brought him to this shameful End. No less despicable in his Fall, than he had been intol-  
 erable in his Grandeur; he afforded a great In-  
 stance, that it is much more easy, to dare bravely any Dangers, even Death itself, as long as there remains some prospect of Escape, than to face it when it is unavoidable: for from the very Minute of his being arrested to the last of his Life, he behaved himself not only like a Madman, but also like a Coward. Equal to the Earl of *Essex* (who had been beheaded in *London* the Year before) as to the great Ser-  
 vices he had done to his Country, as to his Rise, and the many Favours heaped upon him by his Master, as to his Crime and his Fate; he was very widely different from him as to the Greatness of his Soul. He died unmar-  
 ried in the fortieth Year of his Age; he left a Natural Son, and his Mistress big with Child (p).

By

(p) Thuan. Lib. cxxviii. Serres Hist. de France, ibid.  
 P. Mathieu Hist. de Henry IV. ibid.

By his Death the Conspiracy was at an end: Henry IV. the Count of *Auvergne*, his most intimate Accomplice, deserved the same Punishment, but on account of his Birth, and especially in regard to the Marchioness of *Verneuil*, his Life was spared, and he was condemned to a perpetual Prison, from which the King released him two Months after.

1602.  
Pope Clement VIII

Amongst the many Accomplices charged by *La Fin*, the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon* had not been spared; and the Marquess of *Rosny*, out of Jealousy of the great Interest that the Duke had amongst the Reformed, did him all the ill Offices he could at Court, and was so unjust and unreasonable, that tho' he had been himself charged likewise by the same Deponent, tho' he had no better ground for his Suspicions than that, tho' consequently he ought to have judged of the Duke as he did of himself; nevertheless he made use of that Deposition to render that Lord suspicious to the King: nay, he went further, and had a mind to involve the good *Du Plessis* in the same Crime, and increased as much as he could by his false Insinuations the King's Ill-humour against him. This I don't charge the Marquess of *Rosny* with, but upon his own Confession in several Places of his Memoirs, Tom. II. and III.

The Duke of Bouillon accused.

However, the King being at *Blois*, and then at *Poitiers*, had talked with the Duke of the false Rumours which his Enemies industriously spread abroad against his own Person and Government, in order to raise Commotions in his Kingdom; to which the Duke reply'd with a great Freedom, greater, may be, than it was meet for a Subject: for he exhorted his Majesty to ease his Subjects from the heavy Taxes laid upon them, and gave him such other Ad-

Henry IV. vices concerning the Reformed Churches, as  
 1602. did not at all please his Majesty. Then he  
 Pope Cle- asked leave to go to *Turenne*, to settle his pri-  
 ment VIII vate Affairs, which he obtained ; but when he  
 was recalled to come to Court and justify him-  
 self of several things laid to his charge, he  
 promised at first to obey, but after a second  
 Thought, receiving Intelligence that his Ene-  
 mies prevailed there, and that it was to be  
 feared, lest they, together with the Catholicks,  
 would engage the King to make him serve as  
 an Attonement for the Fate of the late Duke  
 of *Biron*, (and indeed these Suspicions were not  
 quite ill-grounded) he altered his Mind, and  
 went directly to *Castres*, desiring to be tryed by  
 the Chamber of the Edict, residing in that City.  
 He wrote to his Majesty, and in very submis-  
 sive Terms he set forth the Reasons of his Ab-  
 sence, taken from the Character and the too  
 great Power of his Enemies, against whom he  
 inveighs most bitterly, and begs of his Majesty  
 not to take amiss his Proceeding, which ought  
 to be interpreted rather as an Argument of his  
 Innocence than of his Guilt, considering that  
 if he was conscious of any Guilt, he would  
 rather have had recourse to his Majesty's Mercy,  
 than to submit himself to the Judgment of a  
 Court, which would be extremely severe  
 against him, was he really guilty of the Trea-  
 sons laid to his charge.

When the King heard that the Duke was  
 gone to *Castres*, in order to be tryed by that  
 Chamber, he was much displeased at it ; he  
 wrote again to the Duke, ordering him to come  
 without delay to Court, that there was as yet no  
 occasion for his Tryal, that he desired only to  
 hear his Justification from his own Mouth, and  
 that if he was to be tryed, the Chamber of  
*Castres*

*Castres* was incompetent. At the same time Henry IV. he forbid the said Court to take cognizance of that Affair. In so doing, his Majesty derogated from an Article of the Edict, whereby the Reformed, of what rank or quality soever, were allowed to be tried by those Chambers if they thought it proper; and the Duke of *Bouillon* resorted to that of *Castres*, as Viscount of *Turenne*, so he could not be denied with justice his Dismission to that Court. However, having presented himself voluntarily before it, he demanded and obtained an authentick Act of his Submission; But understanding that *Cau- martin* was coming with the King's Order to arrest him where-ever he could be found, he set out from *Castres* and went to *Montpelier*, where he found a Provincial Assembly of the Reformed, to whom he represented his Case, and desired the Intercession of the Churches to the King, and that he might enjoy the Privilege granted by the Edict, of being tried by the Chambers of the said Edict; and declared, that lest the publick Tranquillity, which he earnestly recommended unto them, should be disturbed upon his account, he thought proper to go out of the Kingdom for a Time.

Accordingly he went to *Orange*, and took his way through *Dauphiné* without making any stay: he sent one of his Gentlemen to pay his Compliments to *Les Diguieres*; he arrived at *Geneva*, from whence he proceeded to *Heydelberg* (q).

I shall end this Year by the Relation of an Event, which was like to be fatal to the Republick of *Geneva*. The Princes of *Savoy* pretended a Right to that City, which for several Ages they

CXXXI.  
*The Scat-  
do of Ge-  
neva.*

(q) Thuan. Lib. cxxviii. Vie de Du Plessis Mornay, liv. II. Mem. de Sully, Tom. II.

Henry IV. they had endeavoured to improve to their best  
 1602. Advantage, more or less, according to the Cir-  
 Pope Cle- cumstances they were in, and as the times served.  
 ment VIII

But not having been able to compass their Ends by open Force, especially since that City had been received under the Protection of *France*, *Charles Emanuel*, then Duke of *Savoy*, attempted to surprise it by Treachery. Though they had been included in the Treaty of *Lyons*, though the Duke of *Savoy* had sworn twice the Peace with them; nevertheless, as he never made any scruple to break his Word when he found his own Interest in so doing, he plotted to surprise it by *Escalado*; he made all his Preparations as secret as possible. The Inhabitants mistrusting some Troops that were sent into *Savoy* under the Command of *D'Albigny*, he took care to assure their Deputies, that his most sincere Intention was to observe strictly the Treaties lately made with them; and he sent *Rochette*, President of the Senate of *Chambery*, a few Days before the Execution, for to lull the Magistrates and the People by fair Words, and under the specious Pretence of a new Treaty more advantageous to *Geneva* than the former ones. In the mean while the Duke set out Post from *Turin*, on the 17th of *December*, and arrived on the 21st at a place called *La Rochette*, not far from *Geneva*, where *D'Albigny* and the Troops under his Command waited for him. In the Evening he called together all the Officers, and told them his Intention, exhorting them to behave themselves like brave Men; and lest those of *Geneva* should receive notice of his Design, he caused all the Avenues to be guarded, suffering no body to pass. *D'Albigny* received the Oath of the Troops, to die rather than not to conquer. Then he brought them  
 along

along the Banks of the River *Arve*, in order Henry IV. 1602.  
to conceal the better their March, and being Pope Clement VIII  
arrived in a Plain called *Plein-Palaix*, just at  
one of the City Gates, in the Night between  
the 21st and 22d of *December*, he made a halt  
there. Then those who were designed for  
Escalading marched to the Wall, well furnished  
with Ladders, Fascines, and Hurdles to cross  
the Ditches that were full of Mud, with other  
Implements fit for cutting Iron Bars, and break-  
ing the Locks, and Petards to force open the  
Gates. Being come safe to the Foot of the  
Wall, they set up their Ladders against it ;  
they were wonderfully well contrived for the  
purpose, for they were in several Pieces in-  
chased one in another, so that they could shorten  
or lengthen them as they pleased ; they were  
dyed in black, that they might not be per-  
ceived in the dark, and they had Pulleys on  
the Top covered with coarse Cloths, to avoid  
the Noise in lengthening them. That done,  
the stoutest began to go up, to the Number  
of above two Hundred, and having got to  
the Top of the Wall, some of them lay down  
along the Parapet, while the others walked  
two by two through the Streets of the City for  
above an Hour, to see whether the Citizens  
were upon their Guard, for they intended to  
begin their Execution in the City only at the  
Break of Day. Thereupon a Centry in the  
Tower of the Mint hearing some Noise, gave  
notice thereof to his Corporal, who sent a Man  
to the Wall to know what was the matter.  
This Man seeing some armed Men coming to  
him, fired at them and gave the Alarm, the  
Centry of the Tower did the same ; whereupon  
the Enemy seeing themselves discover'd, thought  
proper to begin the Attack sooner than they  
intended,



Henry IV. intended, and formed two Troops, one of which went to the Gate that goes to *Plein-Palaix*, for introducing, if they could, the Body that was in that Plain. It was easy for them to force the Corps de Garde, which by the Treason of the Syndick of the Guard, consisted only of thirteen Men, one of whom understanding what they had a mind to do, stole up over the Gate, and cut the Rope which kept the Port-cullis tied up, whereby the Petard was rendered useless at that Gate. In the mean while, part of the Citizens, awakened by the Noise, ran out of their Houses half dressed and half armed to that Gate, where they stoutly fought against the Enemy, who being at last overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat near their Ladders. The other Troop, which was gone to the Gate of the *Tartasse*, was no more successful; so that being every where beaten and frightened out of their wits, they took down their Ladders with such a hurry that several of them chose to leap over the Wall into the Ditch, and many fractured their Limbs. But just as they were in that Fright, the Citizens went to one of the Bulwarks, and fired the Cannon in the dark; one of them were levelled so just, that the Ladders were broken to pieces; whereat they were so terrified, that the Body which was in *Plein-Palaix* founded the Retreat, and ran away faster than they came. Thirteen of those that remained in the City, were made Prisoners, the others either leaped over the Wall, or were killed. The Council being assembled at Noon for deliberating about the Prisoners, the Majority of Votes carried it for having them punished like Highwaymen; and accordingly they were all hanged that very Evening, and their Heads sever'd

sever'd from their Bodies, were set upon the Wall <sup>Henry IV.</sup> with those of the others killed in the Fray, and <sup>1602.</sup> made up in all the number of sixty-seven: their <sup>Pope Cle-  
ment VIII</sup> Bodies were thrown into the *Rhone*; several more were killed in the Flight, besides the wounded. The Inhabitants had about thirty wounded, and sixteen or seventeen killed, which were buried in *St. Gervais* Church-yard, with an honourable Epitaph. It is said that *Theodorus de Beza*, who was eighty-two Years old, had slept so sound that Night that he heard nothing of the Noise, and was much surprised in the Morning when he was brought to see the dead Bodies. He did not preach for some Years before, nevertheless, upon this Occasion, he came up into the Pulpit, and ordered the 124th Psalm to be sung, which since that time has been constantly sung upon the Anniversary of that Day, which is kept at *Geneva* as a great Festival (r).

The Duke of *Savoy* was confounded at this bad Success of his Enterprize, the Baseness whereof he endeavoured to colour the best He could by his Ambassadors to foreign Princes. King *Henry* especially resented this Action of the Duke as a high Affront put upon him, seeing that he knew, that that City was under his special Protection: he wrote to the Magistrates, to congratulate them upon their happy Deliverance, and to assure them that he would protect them with all his Might against every Enemy whatever; and he sent orders to the Governors of the bordering Provinces to afford them all the Assistance they could: he sent word likewise to the Duke of *Savoy*, that if he disturbed any further the Peace of that City, he

(r) Thuan. Lib. cxxix. Vie du Connetable de Les Diguières, Liv. VII. ch. 4. Spon Hist. de Geneve, Liv. iii. But they differ something one from another.

Henry IV. he would have to do with him. At last, by  
 1602. the Mediation of some of the Switz Can-  
 Pope Cle-  
 ment VIII tons, the publick Tranquillity was restored by  
 the Treaty concluded at *St. Julien*, in the  
 Month of *July 1603* (s).

The Queen of *France* had been delivered of  
 a Daughter in *November* preceeding, which was  
 afterwards married to King *Philip* of *Spain*.

1603. Now the Duke of *Bouillon* having fled from  
 CXXXII. the Kingdom in the manner above said, the  
 The Reformed of Deputies of the Churches that attended the  
 France in Court presented an humble Petition to the King  
*tercede for* in the Fugitive's behalf, beseeching his Ma-  
*the Duke of* jesty to consider the Duke's Innocence, and not  
*Bouillon.* to hearken too easily to the Calumnies of his  
 Enemies, nor to believe that a Man of his  
 Character and of his Religion should have plotted  
 with the *Spaniards* against the Government;  
 and to see, according to his wonted Prudence  
 and Equity, whether he was not accused out of  
 Hatred to his Religion; and to grant that he  
 might be tryed by any one of the Chambers ap-  
 pointed, by his Edict, for that purpose; and  
 not to indulge so far the Wickedness of those  
 who desired no better than to sprinkle the Altars  
 of *Rome* with innocent Blood, as a Burnt-Of-  
 fering of a sweet smelling to them.

The King having sent to *Du Plessis* for his  
 Advice, that great Man answered, with his  
 wonted Freedom and Sincerity, almost in the  
 same Terms; and represented to his Majesty, in  
 a Memorial written purposely on that Subject,  
 ' That it was very certain, that did his Ma-  
 ' jesty refuse flatly the said Duke to be tryed  
 ' by a mixt Chamber, according to his own  
 ' Edict, he would afford him a Pretence to  
 ' make most part of the Reformed believe, that  
 ' there

(s) Thuanus & Spon, *ibid*.

‘ there was a Design laid to oppress his Inno-Henry IV.  
 ‘ cency, by denying him, in a Cause of such <sup>1603.</sup>  
 ‘ Importance, what was granted even to those <sup>Pope Cle-</sup>  
 ‘ of the lowest Rank: considering above all, <sup>ment VIII.</sup>  
 ‘ that it was already a very difficult Task to  
 ‘ make it believed that he had really plotted  
 ‘ with the late Duke of *Biron*, who took, for  
 ‘ Pretence of his Rebellion, the Extirpation of  
 ‘ that Religion which he professed himself; and  
 ‘ that he had consented to the Increase of the  
 ‘ King of *Spain*’s Grandeur, which is totally  
 ‘ detrimental to the said Religion, and espe-  
 ‘ cially to Prince *Maurice*, Brother-in-law to  
 ‘ the said Duke of *Bouillon*. These Reasons  
 ‘ are already in the Mouths of every one, against  
 ‘ the pretended Conspiracies laid to the charge  
 ‘ of the said Duke.

‘ They add farther, that this Prosecution is  
 ‘ carried on at the Pope’s Instigation, who  
 ‘ being much displeased at the Execution of the  
 ‘ Duke of *Biron*, if it is not covered with  
 ‘ another of the like Quality, and of a contrary  
 ‘ Persuasion, pretended to be involved in the  
 ‘ same Crime; whereby it appears that his  
 ‘ Majesty ought to take care not to give the  
 ‘ Duke of *Bouillon* Matter to multiply a Pre-  
 ‘ tence, (that of his Flight was the unjust  
 Charge against him, and the Fear of sinking  
 under the great Power of his Enemies, was a  
 new Pretence of his) ‘ lest it should breed  
 ‘ some Troubles, certainly fatal to those who  
 ‘ shall be engaged in them, but may be, very  
 ‘ unseasonable at this time, full of Suspicions  
 ‘ and Jealousies as well inward as outward.’

Then he advis’d his Majesty to take the  
 Duke at his Word, and to have him tryed by  
 one of the Mixt Chambers granted by the  
 Edict; or at least, that the said Duke of  
*Bouillon*

Henry IV. *Bouillon* should have an Interview at his own  
 1603. Request, and confer with the Marshal *D'Ornano*  
 Pope Cle- and some others of the King's own Appoint-  
 ment VIII ment, that should be thoroughly informed of that  
 Affair (t).

At the same time the Reformed of *Languedoc* sent a Petition to the King tending to the same effect, most humbly beseeching his Majesty to grant the Duke of *Bouillon*; who was ready to take his Tryal before impartial Judges, that he might be judged by one of the Courts appointed by the Edict for that Purpose. But these Petitions and Sollicitations were very ill received at Court, where the Duke was to be deemed guilty right or wrong, at any rate; and *Rosny* missed not so fair an Opportunity to humble his Antagonist.

Queen Elizabeth does  
 the same.

In the mean time, the King was in a great perplexity lest Queen *Elizabeth*, understanding that Affair, should conceive an ill Opinion of him, which might prejudice his Interest as to the other Affairs which he negotiated with her; therefore he sent Orders to *De Beaumont*, his Ambassador at that Court, to set forth before her Majesty the Crimes laid to the charge of the said Duke, and to let her know that he was unwilling to determine any thing without knowing her Opinion about that Affair, and what she would advise him to do. But the Queen had too much Wit and Reason to be imposed upon by such Compliments; nevertheless, as she would not forsake a Lord for whom she had a great Value, and whom she thought to be calumniated only on account of his Religion, she ordered her Ambassador at the Court of *France* to give thanks to the King for these Tokens of Friendship and Confidence  
 of

(t) *Memoires de Du Plessis*, Tom. III. p. 32, &c.


of his in consulting her about that Affair, &c. Henry IV. and to tell him that the Charges preferred <sup>1603.</sup> against the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the Evidences <sup>Pope Clement VIII</sup> whereby they were supported, were altogether very weak, and could not stand with so many Proofs he had given to his Majesty of the Sincerity of his Zeal and Fealty, even in the hardest of the Times. Then she goes on Article by Article, to shew forth the Inconsistence of each of them, with the known Character and the true Interest of the said Lord. She thought it very extraordinary, and altogether suspectful; that the Duke of *Bouillon* was either guilty or innocent; if guilty, a strange thing it was that he should be the only Person prosecuted for it, seeing that there were many Accomplices, in which case it was very plain that this Prosecution was carried on out of hatred against his Person and Religion; if innocent, it behoved the Prudence of the King to see how the Honour and Reputation of a Lord of that Quality could be repaired after such a Blemish had been cast upon it. Therefore she was very sorry that his Majesty had not taken another Course with him from the beginning, &c. &c.

The King was not at all pleased with the *English* Ambassador's Freedom; nevertheless, he thought proper to dissemble for this time. A Libel was then published against the Duke, which was nothing better than a nonsensical Production of some impudent and base Calumniator, for he charged him with being the Author of the Plot for which the Earl of *Essex* had suffered about two Years before; with having solicited the *States* of the *Low-Countries* in behalf of the *Spaniards*; with having plotted to dismember the Kingdom, for which purpose he meditated to turn Catholick, and

Henry IV. was to have *Dauphiné* for his share ; that he  
 1603.  
 Pope Cle- was one of *Biron's* Accomplices, and had de-  
 ment VIII vised the King's Death ; and such other like  
 { putrid Stuff, the Falshood whereof was obvi-  
 ous to every common Understanding, and it  
 was very easy for *Bouillon* to justify fully his  
 Innocence in that respect.

This is summarily the Account which *Tbu-*  
*anus* gives us of the beginning of that knotty  
 Affair, in the four last Pages of the 128th  
 Book of his History ; and we shall see under  
 the Year 1606, that he took him to be inno-  
 cent of the Crimes and Misdemeanours laid to  
 his Charge.

I have thought proper to dwell a little longer  
 upon this and the Duke of *Biron's* Affair than  
 I would have done, had it not been that *Rapin*  
 gives us another notion of them both, than *Tbu-*  
*anus* who was present : for while he extenuates  
*Biron's* Crime, and seems to insinuate that it  
 was occasioned by the King's Neglect of him ;  
 he represents *Bouillon* as really guilty of the  
 Crimes laid to his charge. ‘ But the Marshal  
 ‘ of *Bouillon*, says he, who was also of the Num-  
 ‘ ber (of *Biron's* Accomplices)’ (A VERY BOLD  
 STROKE INDEED ! Seeing that there was no  
 Proof against that Lord, and that *Rapin* him-  
 self had no better Voucher for what he says  
 upon this Subject than *Camden*, whose History,  
 such as it is now extant, cannot be compared,  
 as to Veracity, with *Tbuanus*. But let us  
 go on) ‘ thought it safest to withdraw into  
 ‘ *Germany*, from whence he wrote to *Elizabeth*,  
 ‘ desiring her to intercede for him. The King  
 ‘ of *France* wrote to her also, acquainting her  
 ‘ with the Conspiracy, and asking her Advice  
 ‘ concerning the Marshal *De Bouillon*. The  
 ‘ Queen answered, she could not advise him,  
 ‘ till

till she certainly knew whether the Marshal Henry IV. were guilty: She warned him also to take <sup>1603.</sup> care that it was not a *Spanish* Artifice, to <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> cause him to entertain Suspicions of his best <sup>ment VIII</sup> Subjects. But Henry not considering the Marshal as such, told the *English* Ambassador, that the Queen his Mistress had a better Opinion of him than he deserved; since it was certain he was concerned in the Earl of *Essex's* Plot, and had not even disown'd it (v). 

Amongst other things that I could observe upon this Relation, I shall only insist upon these three Particulars.

I°. That neither the King of *France*, or the Queen of *England*, wrote one to another upon this Occasion, but they charged their respective Ambassadors to make Representations according to the Instructions that were sent unto them.

II°. That the Queen in her Answer, went a great deal farther to get the said Marshal's Discharge than *Rapin* insinuates; for she told the King by her Ambassador, *That the Proofs for supporting the Charge against him, were very far from being as clear as Light in the Mid-day.* As *Rapin* did not think proper to relate the Queen's Answer at full length, he ought at least to have pointed out of it what was more strong; and what was directly to the Discharge of the Marshal, and not wholly and singly what leaves him exposed to Suspicion.

III°. King *Henry* was not a Lyar, much less a Calumniator: this last he would have been proved, had he told the Ambassador as *Rapin* will have it, THAT IT WAS CERTAIN, *BOUILLON* WAS CONCERNED IN THE EARL OF *ESSEX'S* PLOT,

D d 2



Henry IV. PLOT, AND HAD NOT EVEN DISOWNED IT.

<sup>1603.</sup>  
*Pope Clement VIII* How could that be, and that it should be perfectly unknown to Queen *Elizabeth*? This was two Years after the Earl's Execution; how came it to pass that the Duke of *Bouillon* was not once named, not only in the Earl's, but in his Accomplices Tryal? Had the Queen suspected him the least in the World to have had any hand in the said Plot, would not this heavy Charge from a great King, for whom she had so great a Value, have confirmed her first Suspicions? and in such a Case would she have been pleased to become the Patroness of the Accused, and plead for his Innocency? Furthermore, had he not disowned the Charge before, supposing that it had been laid upon him when the Discovery was still fresh, how could he be so bold now as to say in his Answer to the Libel above-mentioned, *That as to the Earl of Essex, no such thing had been said or thought of ever before*, and to appeal as he did to Queen *Elizabeth* her self? But I am afraid lest *Rapin* has mistaken the above said Libel for the King's Answer; had he quoted his Authority for this, we might have considered whether it was reputable or not, in the mean while, I think that we shall do well to rely on *Thuanus*'s Testimony, who was an Eye and Ear-witness of this Transaction, till we could get a better Information if possible.

CXXXIII This Plea of Queen *Elizabeth* for the Duke of *Bouillon*, was one of the last, if not the last Service which that Princess did for the Protestant Cause; for about the End of *January*, she began to feel the first Attack of the Distemper which brought her at length to her Grave; she languished 'till the 24th of *March*, O. S. when she expired in the Sentiments of the greatest

greatest Piety, Resignation to the Will of Almighty God, and Confidence in the Mercy of God, thro' Christ; she was 69 Years Six Months old, according to *Thuanus*, and seven Days more according to the Reverend Mr. *Tindal*; whereof she had reigned, not 45 Years and more, as the first says, but 44 Years, 4 Months and 8 Days (u). I shall add nothing to the great Character which *Thuanus* and *Rapin* gave of that most excellent Princess, the Pattern of all Princes who are animated with this noble Desire of being deemed the Delights of their People and the Glory of their own Crown.

King *Henry* being in *Lorain* in the Month of *February*, received Letters from *Frederic, Elector Palatine*, in behalf of the Duke of *Bouillon* his Brother-in-law; and it appears, by his Answer, that he was not persuaded of the Guilt of that Lord, but that he entertain'd only bare Suspicions against him, whereof he desired he would personally justify himself.

The Duke of *Rohan*, so famous in the next Reign, began this Year to be in great Credit at Court and in the Reformed Party; the King had a great Value for him because of his bright Parts, he owned him for his Cousin by his Mother's side, and had been considered, for that Reason, as next heir to the Crown of *Navarre*, before the King had any lawful Issue, his Majesty, desiring to unite more strictly with the Protestant Princes, designed to marry him with the Daughter of *Charles of Sudermania*, Father to the great *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Swedeland*. This *Charles* was a declared Protestant, and had wrested the Crown from *Sigismond* his Nephew, who was a very zealous Catholick, and who

D d 3

endea-

(u) *Thuan. Lib. cxxix.*

Henry IV  
1603.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

CXXXIV  
*The Elector  
Palatine  
writes in  
Bouillon's  
Behalf.*

CXXXV.  
*The Duke  
of Rohan's  
Prefer-  
ment.*

Henry IV. endeavoured to extirpate the Protestant Religion out of his *Northern* Dominions. This <sup>1603.</sup> *Pope Cle-* Marriage was not effected. This young Lord <sup>ment VIII</sup> was made Duke and Peer this Year, and took the Oath on the seventh of *August*; a few Years after, the King married him to the eldest Daughter of his Favourite the Marquess of *Rôny*, who was created Duke of *Sully*, and Peer of *France*, in 1605. This Lady was as zealous for her Religion, as her Father was cold and indifferent, and being assisted by her Mother-in-law, she got such an Ascendant over her Husband, that she governed him almost as she pleased.

**CXXXVI** It was also in this Year that the *Jesuits* obtained leave to return into *France*. Father *Magio* had visited the King at *Lyons*, in the *Pope's* Name, during the War of *Savoy*, where his Majesty had given him Assurances of his Good-will. And this Year as he passed thro' *Verdun* in *Lorraine*, on his return to *Paris*, the *Jesuits* who had a College in the first City, came to pay their respects to his Majesty, and Father *Charles La Tour*, speaking in their Name, most humbly besought not to be deem'd as comprehended in the Decree of the Parliament of *Paris*, whereby all the *Jesuits* were expelled out of the Kingdom. The King received them very graciously, and granted their Request, provided that the Youth that were at *Pont à Mousson*, at School, should be transferred to *Verdun*, and dismissed them with other Tokens of his Good-will. Now being told by *Varenne*, who supported them with all his Interest, that the King intended not only to preserve their College of *Verdun*, but likewise to restore them all over his Kingdom, they held an Assembly at *Pont à Mousson*, and by

*Varenne's* Advice, they sent a solemn Declaration to his Majesty, who was then at *Henry IV.* <sup>1603.</sup> *etz.* They were introduced by the said *Va-* *Pope Cle-* *ment VIII* *me,* and in a set Speech made by the said *Tour,* they moved the King to promise them their Re-establishment in *France.* The *Jesuits* *mand* and *Cotton,* were ordered to come to *Paris;* *Cotton* by his flattering Conversation, his Sermons adapted to the Taste of the Court, by his profligate Hypocrisy, wherein was the most expert of any of his Gown, possessed himself of the King's Affection, so he got immediately into the highest degree of his Favour. They were as I have said, supported by *La Varenne,* who by his Complaisance in carrying on the King's amorous Intrigues, and by the Interest of the late Duchess *Beaufort,* had raised himself from the Kitchen employment to that of the King's Council, and had a greater share in Affairs than a great many more worthy Men; besides him, by the like of *Espernon, Villeroy,* and *De Gevres,* and by all the *Spanish* Faction, at the Head whereof the Queen was. But every true *Protestant* had such an Aversion to that Re-establishment, that the King met with no small Difficulties before he could obtain it. However, the King being gone to *Rouën,* caused an Act to pass in the Parliament of that City for their Recall, and sealed with the Great Seal the Month of *September.* But being brought before the Parliament of *Paris,* it met with great Oppositions, which could not be removed till the beginning of 1604, when the Parliament, notwithstanding the very moving Speech of the first President *Du Harlay,* to deter the King from his Resolution, was, as one may say, constrained to publish and register the Edict

Henry IV. of their Re-establishment on certain Conditions, in the places wherein they were actually, or had been in possession before their Expulsion, upon certain Conditions however which were thought very necessary at that time, but which the good Fathers have found means to abrogate one way or another by the lapse of time (x).

1603.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

It was then publickly said, that the Proceedings of the Synod of *Gap* had much forwarded that Affair, which otherwise might have been spun out a longer time. But the Affront that had been put there upon the *Pope*, in making it to pass as an Article of Faith that he was the *Antichrist*, had laid a Necessity on the King to break through all Obstacles raised against the Re-establishment of the *Jesuits*, to the end that he might by this means appease the *Pope*, who was much offended, and who besides that earnestly desired that Re-establishment, and had even inserted it as one of the sixteen Conditions of the King's Absolution.

CXXXVII  
*The Seven-  
teenth Na-  
tional Sy-  
nod.*

That Synod of *Gap*, in *Dauphiné*, was held the first of *October*, and was the seventeenth National Synod. The Rev. Mr. *Daniel Chamier*, was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. Mr. *Jeremiab Ferrier*, Pastor and Professor of Divinity at *Nimes*, Assessor. That Synod was one of the most celebrated that ever the Reformed held in *France*, several important Matters were brought there upon the Carpet. Amongst others, the Query concerning the *Antichrist*, who it was? The Reformed, and all the Protestants in general, agreed upon this Point, that the *Pope* is the *Antichrist*, foretold by *St. Paul* and *St. John*, and in their Sermons and Writings, they applied to him all the Characters

(x) Thuan. Lib. cxxix. & cxxxii. Serres Invent. gen. de l'Hist. de France, Tom. II. pag. 160, in folio.

acters by which these Holy Writers have de- Henry IV.  
scribed him. The injustice done to *Du Plessis*, <sup>1603.</sup>  
at the Conference above related, stuck to the *Pope Cle-*  
Hearts of the Reformed, and inflamed their *ment VIII*  
Zeal, because the Pretence thereof had been,  
that he had called the *Pope Antichrist*, in his  
Book: the fanatical Notion of the approach-  
ing Downfal of *Babylon*,\* was in the Heads of  
most of them; the Pulpits resounded almost  
with nothing else. Indeed tho' we profess a  
more pure Belief, yet we are Men as much as  
any other. But the Imprudence of *Du Ferrier*,  
one of the Pastors of the Church, and Pro-  
fessor of Divinity in the Royal College at  
*Nimes*, occasioned all this Uproar; he was not  
satisfied with the general Assertion that the  
*Pope* was the *Antichrist*, but he named expressly  
in some publick Theses, *Clement VIII.* then  
fitting. The Parliament of *Tboulouse* took  
Cognizance of this, and summoned him to ap-  
pear in three Days before them; then they de-  
creed against him as a seditious Person, and a  
Disturber of the Publick Peace, and ordered  
his Theses to be burnt by the common Exe-  
cutioner. But *Du Ferrier*, unwilling to expose  
himself to the Judgment of that merciless Court,  
fled at the Chamber of *Castres*.

This was enough to supersede the Proceed-  
ings of the Parliament, but the Professor sought  
for a better Support, for which purpose he and  
his Friends thought proper, to make his pri-  
vate Affair, an Affair of the whole Party;  
wherein he succeeded better than it was requi-  
site for the Reputation of our Churches in  
*France*. He obtained, that the Matter should  
be debated in this Synod, and to have his Doc-  
trine approved by it. It was not very difficult  
for *Du Ferrier* to obtain his End, being ad-  
joined

Henry IV. joined in the Moderatorship to the Rev. Mr. <sup>1602.</sup> *Chamier*, who, tho' a Man without compari-  
 son of greater Learning, of more Solidity,  
 and who acted by quite contrary Principles than *Ferrier*, and was a Man of strict Piety and Virtue, was however very hot upon the matter. It was decreed that an Article should be inserted in the Confession of Faith, whereby they declared that the *Pope* was properly that *Antichrist*, and the *Son of Perdition*, foretold in the Word of God, the *Whore clothed with Scarlet*, sitting on the Seven Mountains, and the *Great City*; who had his Reign over the Kings of the Earth, and that they did expect that the Lord, as he has promised, and begun the overthrowing of him by the Spirit of his Mouth, will finally destroy him by the Brightness of his coming.

That Article was to be inserted immediately after the Thirtieth, which treats of the Equality amongst the Pastors of the Church. But the King having been informed of what they were transacting, was extremely provoked against them: that was properly to upbraid him with worshipping the *Beast*, &c. The Clergy and the *Pope's* Nuncio made very heavy Complaints about it.

I shall not take upon me to determine whether this Proposition, The Bishop of *Rome*, or the *Pope*, is that very *Antichrist*, that *Son of Perdition* foretold by the Sacred Penmen, &c. can be looked upon as an Article of Faith necessary in order to Salvation, being A W E D by the INFALLIBLE DECISIONS of two venerable Synods, this of *Gap*, and the next of *Rockel*, who, very likely, had found the Decision in some Bible which I have never seen, or else they would not have contradicted one of the

the Fundamental Articles of the Reformation, Henry IV, whereby we are taught not to admit any thing in Religion, as an Article of Faith necessary in order to Salvation, but what is expressly warranted by the Scripture. For if I do not find in that Sacred Book, that the *Pope* is that *Antichrist*, that *Son of Perdition* which he meant, I am not obliged to believe, as an Article of Faith necessary to Salvation, that the *Pope* is that *Antichrist*; I confess that I found in the *Pope* so many Characters of the *Antichrist*, that if he is not the Person foretold by *St. Paul*, at least he seems unto me to be very much like him; but for taking my Oath that I sincerely believe him to be the Person, that I cannot do without an express and clear Revelation from God.

But now in the Capacity of an History Writer, I shall ask whether, considering the Circumstances wherein the Reformed were then in *France*, they ought in good and true Policy to give such an Offence to the whole Catholick Party, and to affront a *Pope* who had been favourable unto them as far as they could expect from a *Pope*? We must be zealous for our Religion, it is true, but our Zeal must be prudent, and always be quickened by Love and Charity. They were so tender themselves, when they were reviled by any Nickname in private as well as in publick, that they brought their Complaints to the King, and required Satisfaction: What! did they think that the Catholicks were grown insensible, and that they would tamely bear with being treated as Worshipers of the *Son of Perdition*? The Edict of *Nantz* had provided against all manner of Revilings one against another: What! did they think that this Prohibition regarded only the Catholicks, and not themselves? But *Du Ferrier*

1603.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII



Henry IV. *rier* was put in trouble for asserting that Pro-  
 1603. position in his Theses. But why did *Du Fer-*  
*Pope Cle-*  
*ment VIII* *rier* go further than his Predecessors had been?

He and the other Ministers who were in the  
 Case, could they not attack the *Pope's* Doc-  
 trine, and let his Person alone? And if they  
 were unjustly dealt with, could they not address  
 themselves to the King? But that Doctrine was  
 not new, it had been taught in Books, and  
 preached in Pulpits from the very beginnings of  
 the Reformation. That is very true, and ne-  
 vertheless, our Reformers and their immediate  
 Successors, were so moderate and humble, or  
 prudent, or both together, that though the  
*Popes* who sat in their times were some of the  
 most profligate Wretches that had ever been  
 known, though they groaned under one of  
 the fiercest Persecutions that ever was, never-  
 theless it never came into their heads to insert  
 in their Confession of Faith, this Article, *That*  
*the Pope was the Antichrist, the Son of Perdition;*  
 they trod in the Steps of *Michael* the Arch-  
 angel, when contending with the *Devil*, he  
 disputed about the Body of *Moses*, and durst not  
 bring against him, (*How Devil soever he was*)  
 a railing Accusation, but said, *The Lord rebuke*  
 \*Jude 9. *thee.* \* But other foreign Churches had this  
 Article inserted in their Confession of Faith,  
 why shall we not have the same Liberty? It  
 may be so that some other Churches had this  
 Article couched in their Confession of Faith,  
 though I would not be positive, because I have  
 never seen it in any before. But I would ask,  
 were they in the right in that respect, to give  
 out as an Article of Faith necessary to Salvation,  
 what is purely problematical? and besides that,  
 what was agreeable to their Circumstances, was it so  
 as to the Circumstances of the Churches in *France*,  
 and

and a little more Moderation, would it not a great deal better suit their Condition than such Heats and Animosities about things of this nature.

Henry IV.  
1603.  
Pope Clement VIII

So far I am impartial, but it may be, that the Reader waits too long for the Conclusion of this Affair. The King sent for the General Deputies of the Churches residing at Court, and bid them to write to their Principals; and to let them know in his Name, that if that Decree of the Synod was executed, he would stop the selling of the Bibles, New Testaments and Psalms, wherein that Article should be inserted in their Confession of Faith, and prosecute criminally the Printers thereof. That this would occasion much Trouble, whereof they should be themselves the Authors, but that all the Evil would fall upon their own Heads. That they ought to improve this Warning, and to answer without delay, and he bid them to shew him the Answers they should receive. He wrote almost in the same Strain to the Lord *Du Plessis*, soliciting him to divert by his Prudence that Evil wherewith the Churches were threatened. This Lord answered *Villeroy* Secretary of State, That he might assure his Majesty, that this Resolution of the Synod proceeded neither from any ill Intention of wilfully offending his Majesty, nor from any private Suggestion; that the Parliament of *Tboulouse* had been the Occasion thereof, by interpreting for a Sedition against the Edict some Theses in Divinity, which had been so many times asserted in all the Reformed Churches; that if a Stop was put to that Prosecution, it would be an easy matter to heal the rest. At the same time, for preventing all manner of Disagreement between the several Letters which the Churches were to send to Court, he sent the Deputies a Copy of

HENRY IV. of an Answer, whereupon he thought proper  
 1603. that the said Churches should model their own,  
 Pope C<sup>re</sup>. to the end that they might appear unanimous  
 1603. upon that matter. But, let it be said with

respect due to that great and worthy Man, he had undertook to plead for a bad Cause, no wonder if he don't argue so consequentially on this Occasion as he doth in others ; for an Instance, he pleads for the same Liberty upon that Article, as was granted them by the Edict upon others ; and yet he pretends that this was no new thing for them, that the Catholics knew what opinion of the *Pope* they did entertain. All that is wrong, the Catholics knew very well that the Reformed held the *Pope* for the *Antichrist*, that they preached and taught that Doctrine in their Sermons, and in their Books, that is true ; but they knew too that they had never as yet attempted to assert it so publickly in their Academies in *France*, much less to insert it in their Confession of Faith, that was quite a new thing, for which they could not claim the Liberty granted them by the Edict, which could respect only the Articles of Faith then extant at the time of publishing the said Edict, and not those which they should be pleased to insert from time to time, especially if they were of so publick a Nature as should reflect against the Government, and give Offence to the greatest part of the Kingdom. That very same Edict had provided, as already said, against that, by forbidding all the Subjects of either Religion, to inveigh against one another. However, his Majesty having seen the several Answers of the Churches, who by *Du Plessis's* prudent Forecast, were unanimous, was graciously pleased to order his Attorney-General to withdraw his Prosecution ;

tion; and the Article was not inserted for that time Henry IV. in the Confessions of Faith, that were printing <sup>1603.</sup> at the end of the Bibles, New Testaments and <sup>Pope Clement VIII.</sup> Psalms; only it was then inserted in some ~~Confessions~~ Confessions printed abroad without the Kingdom (y).

Though King James had no better Opinion of the Pope than the Reformed of France, nevertheless he thought that this Synodical Proceeding was very much out of season, and ordered the Reverend Mr. *De la Fontaine*, Minister of the *Walloon Church* at London, to write to the Lord *Du Plessis* upon that Subject, and altogether to desire him to explain what the Synod had meant when they declared that by the Word *Super-intendant* in the thirty-second Article of their Confession, they did not understand any Superiority of one Pastor above another; for it had been misrepresented to his *Britannick Majesty*, as if the Senate condemned tacitly the Ecclesiastical Polity of the Church of *England*. After having answered to the first Article, *Du Plessis* declared upon the second, that the Synod had no such meaning at all, that they knew very well that the Equality or Unequality might be very well tolerated in the Church Government, provided the one should be without Confusion, and the other without Tyranny.

That Synod likewise took into their Consideration, Dr. *Piscator's* Opinion concerning our Justification, which he ascribed only to the Imputation of Christ's Sufferings and Death, and not to his passive and active Obedience; and Letters were directed unto him to desire him to

(y) Thuanus Lib. cxxix. Vie de Du Plessis, Liv. ii. p. 296, &c. Memoires de Du Plessis, Tom. ii. ad Ann. 1603, & 1604.

Henry IV. to desist from his Opinion. That Affair was  
 1603. not terminated till the next National Synod  
 Pope Cl- at *Racbel*, as we shall mention in the Year  
 1607.

They condemned all private Ordination and Imposition of Hands, and ordered a perfect Uniformity to be observed in that respect in all the Churches in *France*. They enacted that for the future, they should not call their Religion the *Pretended Reformed Religion*, deciding that it was against their Conscience, and by the King's special Licence, they were allowed to stile themselves *those of the Religion Reformed according to the Terms of the Edict*, in the publick Deeds, &c.

They received Letters from the Elector *Palatine* in the Duke of *Bouillon's* behalf, and answered them; whereat the King was much displeased, and even threatened to deprive them of the Liberty of meeting. They also receiv'd a Petition from the Brethren of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, exiled for their Religion, and resolved to most humbly recommend their Case to his Majesty by their general Deputies, and to write upon the same account to the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Lord of *Les Dignieres*; they wrote also to those of the said Marquisate, who had abjured their Religion for avoiding Persecution, exhorting them to a thorough Repentance: As also to the Brethren of the Valley of *Barcelona*, who craved Advice how to behave themselves under their Apprehensions of being deprived of their Religious Liberty by the said Duke of *Savoy*, and assured them of all Offices of Christian Charity. They wrote also to the Universities of *England*, *Scotland*, *Leyden*, *Geneva*, *Heydelberg*, *Basil* and *Herborn*, about Dr. *Piscator's* Opinion, desiring them to join with them

them in the Censure passed against it. They <sup>Henry IV.</sup> desired likewise the said Universities, and some <sup>1603.</sup> private persons to concur with them in procur- <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> ing an Union, at least external, with the Lu- <sup>ment VIII</sup> *theran* Churches, which indeed was effected in some Measure, as we shall say under the next Year. They made several other good and prudent Regulations as to the Discipline, and having confirmed the Lord of *St. Germain Mon-roy*, and Mr. *Des Bordes*, in the Office of Deputies General of the Churches for the two next Years, and settled their Accounts of the Moneys paid by his Majesty for the Use of the said Churches, they ended their Sessions the twenty-third of *October* (2).

King *James I.* having succeeded to the Crown <sup>cxixviii</sup> of *England* after Queen *Elizabeth's* Death, <sup>The Mar-</sup> King *Henry* thought proper to secure early <sup>ques of</sup> that Prince to his Interest, for which reason he <sup>Rosni sent</sup> sent the Marquess of *Rosni* as his Ambassador <sup>Ambassa-</sup> Extraordinary to *England*, not only to con- <sup>dor to Eng-</sup> gratulate his Majesty upon his happy Accession <sup>land.</sup> to the Crown of *England*, and to ask the Continuation of the Friendship that had subsisted between *Henry* and *Elizabeth*, and to renew the defensive Alliance; but also and especially to sound how that Prince stood affected towards the *United Provinces*, whether he would freely continue to assist them; if he was not in that Disposition, to carry himself prudently, and not to open unto him his Majesty's secret Designs as to the *House of Austria*; but if he found him well-disposed, he had Orders to declare unto him the Ways and Means how to humble that formidable Power, and to reduce it into the Limits of *Spain*, and of its hereditary Countries in *Germany*; for which

VOL. IV. E e end

(\*) Pierre Mathieu, Liv. vi. 5<sup>e</sup> Narration. Quick's Synodicon

Henry IV. end a League might be formed, wherein Denmark and Swedeland should be admitted, which Pope Urban VIII would attack at first the *Low Countries*, and then the *Indies*, which should be shared between the Confederates: then at the same time they might raise a powerful Party in *Germany*, for snatching the Empire out of the hands of that House. He had orders to make some other Demands relating to the Liberty of Trade between the two Nations, and to complain of the Plunders which the *English* made upon the *French* in a piratical way, having seized on above three Millions of Livres of *French* Ships since the Peace of *Vervins*.

The Ambassador succeeded well enough in his Negotiation as to the defensive Alliance: he tells us in his Memoirs, that tho' he had express Orders from the King his Master, to appear in Mourning with all his Retinue, at his first Audience; nevertheless, being forewarned that he would disoblige the King, who would doubtless look upon this Affectation as a Reproach, for not going himself into Mourning for the Queen, he was obliged to comply. After his return to *France*, he was made Governor of *Poitou*, to watch the Duke of *La Tremouille's* Motions, who was strangely suspected at Court, tho' without any just Ground (a).

1604. At the beginning of this Year the Reformed in *France* had a great Loss to sustain by the Death of *Catharina* of *Bourbon*, Duchess of *Bar*, and Sister to the King: that Princess desired so earnestly to be with Child, that she mistook the least Appearances for the Reality, so that it happened that feeling an extraordinary Swelling in her Womb, caused either by the bigness of a Moon-calf, or by a Timpany, her

(a) Memoires du Duc de Sully, Tom. ii. ch. 16, 17. &c.

her Physicians persuaded her easily that she was <sup>Henry IV.</sup> with Child, and having such a Notion, she ab- <sup>1604.</sup> solutely refused to take any Physick, or to ap- <sup>Pope Cle-</sup> ply any Remedy proper to remove that Swell- <sup>ment VIII</sup> ing, which came at last to an Inflammation; and even then she absolutely refused to take any thing, tho' Dr. *Lawrence*, the King her Brother's Physician, which he had sent as one of the most expert in the whole Kingdom, assured her Royal Highness that her Distemper proceeded from quite a different Case than she fancied: yet she persisted in her own Notion to the last, recommending her Children to her Father-in-Law and her Husband, and saying that she was very willing to die, if that survived her. At last she was seized with a Fever, and died in the greatest Misery the thirteenth of *February*. She was one of the best Princesses of her time, either as to her publick or private Character. Had the King her Brother followed the Directions of Queen *Jane* their Mother, and married her as soon as she was of Age to be married, as he had many Opportunities to do it, very likely he would have saved to himself, as well as to her many Troubles and Vexations, especially if he had accepted of the Match with the King of *Scotland*, which was proposed by Queen *Elizabeth* her self. She had much to suffer for her Religion, since the King's Reconciliation with the See of *Rome*; several Conferences were held in her Presence between some of the best Divines of both Parties; but she would never suffer Error to triumph over the Truth, through her Connivance; and she chose to be exposed to the Resentment of her Brother and her own Husband, rather than to do any thing against her Conscience. The *Pope's* Dispensation for her Marriage arrived at *Nancy* but a few



Henry IV. days after her Death. She was buried at *Vendôme* by her Mother's side. King Henry was deeply affected with that Loss; the Remembrance of his ill Usage to her increased his Sorrows. He received the Compliments of all the Foreign Ministers upon that melancholy Occasion, the *Pope's* Nuncio excepted. That Minister was much puzzled, not knowing how to behave himself on this Occasion: for that Princess having constantly lived, and being dead in the Communion of the Reformed Church, he thought that it would be a Disparagement to his Master's Authority, did he carry himself like others; nevertheless, having maturely considered what he had to do, he took a middle Way, whereby he thought he could perform his Duty in this respect without giving Offence to the *Pope*; he came to Court, and being admitted to the King's Audience, he told his Majesty, that amidst that General Mourning of the Court, he was affected with a quite different feeling from the others; for while the King and his Friends lamented the Loss of his Sister's Body, he wailed for the Salvation of her Soul, which was in great Danger. At this the King being highly offended, answered lively, that he thought the Grace of God to have been sufficient, even at the last breath of her Life, to carry her into Eternal Bliss, and to admit her into the Society of the Blessed Spirits (b).

CXL. A Thing happend this Year, which made a great Noise both at Court and in the City. *Hadriana Du Fresne*, a young Girl born at *Gerbigny*, near *Amiens*, pretending to be possessed, was brought to *Paris*, she was shewn in the *Bernardins-Street*, where she lodged, and was also

*Queries proposed by the Jesuit Peter Cotton, to a possessed Maid.*

(b) Thuan. Lib. cxxxii.

also frequently brought to the Monastery of St. Henry IV. *Pictor* for the same purpose; a vast Number of People resorted there every day, no less than had some Years before for *Martha Bros-* <sup>1604.</sup> *tere*: amongst others, the Jesuit *Peter Cotton* the King's Confessor went to exorcise her; and whereas he was very curious, or for some other Reasons, he took this Opportunity to inquire of her about many things which he desired to know, and for easing his own Memory, he set down in Writing seventy-one Queries, whereupon he desired to be thoroughly satisfied, some of them were concerning the King's Conversion, and Length of Life, whether the first was sincere, and the second long, or not? Some others concerned the State; some the Reformed, desiring to know the best way to convert or destroy them; some were learned such as these, Whether Languages came from God? Which was the plainest Text of the Scripture to prove Purgatory and Invocation of Saints? How all the Animals could be contained in the Ark of *Noah*? Who were the Sons of God who fell in love with the Daughters of Men? Whether the Serpent walked upon his Feet before the Fall of *Adam*? How long our first Parents remained in *Paradise*? Whom are those seven Spirits before the Throne of God? and such other like Queries. Some others respected himself, and some his Society. He had put that Sheet of Paper, written with his own Hand, in a Book of Exorcism which he had borrowed of a Friend, and when he return'd the Book, he forgot to take that Paper back. That Gentleman unluckily knew not *Cotton's* Hand-writing, and did not think that he was the Author of these Queries; he gave the Paper to another Friend, and from

Henry IV.  
1604.  
Pope Cle-  
ment VIII

Henry IV. this to another, till at last it came into the hands of the Marquis of *Rosni*, who shewed it to the King. Most part of those who saw that Paper, deemed some of the Questions contain'd therein impious, some treasonable, and some ridiculous and unworthy of a Man of his Gown, and consequently condemned him as a Man whom the Law ought to prosecute and punish; very few looked upon it as the Effect of a preposterous Zeal for Religion. The King was one of these last, he had expressly commanded the Marquis of *Rosni* to keep the Original by him, and his Majesty, who was so much taken with *Cotton's* great Parts, that he consulted him upon every thing, was very sorry when he heard that Copies had been drawn of that Paper and spread abroad, being sensible that it could not but be prejudicial to the Reputation of his new Favourite; therefore to stop his Courtiers Mouths, he dissembled his real Sentiments, and commended what he inwardly condemned, so that that Affair went no further for the present (c).

CXLI.  
Cardinal  
D'Offat's  
Death.

Cardinal *Arnauld D'Offat* died at *Rome* this Year, in the Month of *March*, aged sixty-seven Years, six Months, and twenty Days: he was born in a paultry Village near *Auchs* in *Guienne*, of a Family so obscure, that he himself knew not his own Relations; some say that his Father was a Mountebank, who died so poor that he left not enough to pay the Charges of his Burial; and some others say that he was the Natural Son of the Lord of the Manor where he was born. Howbeit, when he died he left no other Heirs than the Poor and his own Servants. But God Almighty had endowed him with such extraordinary

(c) *Thuanus, ibid.*

dinary and excellent Gifts of the Mind, that <sup>Henry IV.</sup> they abundantly supplied whatever was defective in his Birth. His Wit, Learning, Piety, <sup>1604. Pope Clement VIII</sup> Probity and exquisite Sagacity, were no sooner displayed at the Court of *Rome*, but he was thought to match all those who had made themselves conspicuous by their Nobility and other Advantages of Fortune; he went beyond many of them, and behaved himself in a way so unblameable, that he commanded Love and Admiration from every one during the whole course of his Life, (the Marquiss of *Rosni* and his Secretaries excepted).

He lived after such a manner for thirty-one Years together at the Court of *Rome*, that he appeared always free from all Ambition, and with such a Modesty amidst the high Dignities wherewith he was invested, that every one agreed that he deserved to be raised to the highest Pitch of Grandeur whereat a *Roman* Clergyman of his Parts can aspire. His Letters ought to be read with Attention by every Politician, for they are written with a convenient Gravity, and full of an agreeable Diversity of Narrations and judicious Reflexions, and very proper to inform the Mind of a Minister of State (*d*). *Du Perron* inherited his Cardinal's Hat.

While the King was busy in his publick <sup>CXLII.</sup> Buildings, in settling Manufactories and other <sup>L'Hofte's</sup> like Employments worthy a great Prince when <sup>Treason.</sup> he has settled Peace at home and abroad, and which are conducive to the Glory, Welfare, and Happiness of his Subjects, the Enemies of the State were hard at work by their clandestine and wicked Practices, to plunge again the

E e 4 King-

(*d*) Thuanus, Lib. cxxxi. Wicquefort, de l'Ambassadeur, Liv. ii. Sect. 10, & 17.

Henry IV Kingdom into its former Confusions and Mis-  
 1564  
 P. 100 C. 10.  
 1564 VIII.  
 ries. The *Spaniards* seeing that they could  
 not compass their Ends by open Force, spared  
 no Money or fair Promises of Preferment, to  
 engage those who were in Offices of the greatest  
 Trust, to betray the Secrets of the King's Privy  
 Council; and the Corruption of the Age was  
 such, that they found no great Difficulty to  
 succeed according to their Wishes. Among  
 these Villains who suffered themselves to be  
 bribed out of their Fidelity, there was one  
*Nicolas L'Hoste*, Secretary to *Villeroy*, who  
 was born, and had been brought up in his  
 Master's House, who was very fond of him  
 because of his bright Parts, and that he was  
 his Godfather, he promoted his Advancement  
 as much as he could, and employed him to  
 decypher the Letters in his Office. That Man  
 being ambitious to raise his Fortune above his  
 Condition, did stick at nothing that might  
 serve his Turn, and basely betraying the Trust  
 reposed in him, revealed to the *Spanish* Am-  
 bassador the most secret Designs and Re-  
 solutions of the Privy Council. He had  
 been given by *Villeroy* to *Rochepot*, when he  
 went Ambassador to *Spain*, for learning the  
*Spanish* Language; and having contracted a  
 stricter Friendship with the *Spaniards*, he pro-  
 stituted his Faith and Honour for a Pension of  
 1200 Crowns a Year: He kept likewise a strict  
 Familiarity with one *Raffis*, who was an Exile  
 in *Spain*, having been one of the excepted  
 in the general Pacification. This Man, receiv-  
 ing frequent Letters from *L'Hoste*, after his  
 return in *France*, thought to have met a pro-  
 per opportunity of obtaining his Pardon, by  
 betraying the Secret of his Friend. With this  
 View he went to *Du Barail*, who had suc-  
 ceeded

ceded *Rocheport*, and told him all the Secret ; Henry IV. it happened just at that time, that the Am-<sup>1604.</sup> Pope Cle-  
ment VIII *baſſador* had occaſion to talk with the Pope's Legate at *Madrid*, about ſome ſecret Affair that was in agitation in the Council of *France* ; and the Legate told him, that he had been already informed thereof by the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and even of much more than what *Du Barail* had thought proper to declare ; whereby that Ambaſſador was fully convinced of the Truth of *Raffis's* Charge againſt *L'Hoſte*. Thereupon, without any further delay, he diſpatched his own Secretary *Descartes* with the ſaid *Raffis* to the Court of *France*, with Letters to *Villeroy*, and thoſe which *Raffis* had received from *L'Hoſte*. Their ſudden Departure made the Miniſters of *Spain* to ſuſpect that *L'Hoſte's* Treason was detected ; they diſpatched an Expreſs to *Baltazar de Zuniga*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at the Court of *France*, ordering him to give timely Notice to *L'Hoſte* of the danger he was in. This Expreſs arrived ſooner than *Raffis*, ſo that the Traitor having been warned by *Zuniga*, came to *Fontainbleau*, where the Court was, and conſequently *Villeroy*, in order to make ſome Diſcovery, and the neceſſary Proviſions for his Escape, As ſoon as he deſcried *Raffis* with *Descartes* juſt arriving at *Fontainbleau*, he withdrew ſuddenly, and fled with a *Fleming*, which *Zuniga* had ſent unto him for that purpoſe. Meſſengers were out of hand diſpatched after him in order to arreſt him ; they overtook him at *La Fay*, near *La Ferte*, in *Champaign*, where he was to croſs the *Marne* over a Ferry-boat, but the Wretch was ſo frightened with the Noiſe of the Horſes that ran after him, (it was a very dark Night) that attempting to ford the

Henry IV. the River, he fell into a Pit, and was drow-  
 ned. His Guide was taken and brought a-  
 long with the Corpse to *Paris*, being strongly  
 suspected of having procured *L'Hoste's* Death,  
 by the *Spanish* Ambassador's Order, lest, be-  
 ing taken alive, he should declare his Accom-  
 plices ; nevertheless, as there was no Evidence  
 against the said Guide, he was released. As to  
 the Corpse, it was tried, the Parliament al-  
 lowing an Attorney to plead for it ; and be-  
 ing found guilty, he was sentenced to be quar-  
 tered at four Horse's Tails, and his Quarters  
 to be set upon so many Gibbets at the En-  
 trance of the City ; which Sentence was exe-  
 cuted. As to *Villeroy*, he was in the greatest  
 Anxieties, especially on account of his Secre-  
 tary's Death, whereby he saw himself depriv-  
 ed of the properest Means of clearing him-  
 self ; for there wanted not People that suspected  
 him, as if he had had a hand in this Villany ;  
 but his Majesty was graciously pleased to com-  
 fort him, and to silence at Court those who  
 attempted to reflect upon that Minister's Con-  
 duct.. *Raffis* obtained his Majesty's most gra-  
 cious Pardon, as he had been promised by the  
*French* Ambassador at *Madrid*, and made se-  
 veral other Discoveries which occasioned that  
 of the Count of *Auvergne*, the Marquess *d'En-*  
*tragues*, and the Marchioness of *Verneuil's* Plot  
 against the Government. (e)

CXLIII. The Count and the Marquess had treated  
 the Count with the Ambassador of *Spain*, with the Mar-  
 chioness's Consent, to have her, with her Chil-  
 dren, safely conveyed into *Spain*. That Ne-  
 gociation had begun with *Taxis*, and had been  
 continued and brought to a Conclusion with  
*Zuniga* his Successor ; and *Morgan*, an *English*  
 Gentle-

(e) Thuan. Lib. cxxxii.

Gentleman, who had been in the Service of Henry IV. the late Queen of *Scotland*, was the Manager thereof. The Charge against them was, that they had communicated to the *Spanish* Ambassador the Promise of Marriage above-mentioned, which the King had made to the Marchioness of *Verneuil*, to engage her to comply with his Desires, and had made a secret Treaty with him, whereby King *Philip* III. promised to assist him \* for raising the Marchioness's eldest Son upon the Throne; and for that purpose, to give him 500,000 Livres ready Money, and to send the Troops he had in *Catalonia* to support the Malecontents in *Guienne* and *Languedoc*. Nay, he was charged with having plotted to attempt to murder the King, when he should go to the Marchioness his Sister; but that part of the Charge was not much credited.

1604.  
Pope Clement VIII

\* The Count of Auvergne.

Now, when the Count had seen *Raffis* arrived at Court, he questioned not but that the Intrigue was discovered, and went away into the Country of *Auvergne*, on pretence of some Quarrel, which he had pick'd at Court. The King sent after him Orders to come back; he declined to obey, unless his Majesty would be pleased to send his Abolition in due Form for all past Offences: That was granted him, but upon this Condition, *That he should instantly come to Court.*

He could never be prevailed upon to trust himself on the King's Word: So that his Majesty was obliged to have him arrested in *Auvergne*, which could not be executed but by Surprise; he was brought to *Paris* under a strong Guard, and clapt into the *Bastile*: *Entragues* and his Wife were arrested in their own Country Seat of *Maleherbes*; the first

The Count and his Accomplices are arrested.



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BOOK VII. Richard I.  
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Henry IV. first was brought to the Jail of the Parliament  
 at *Paris*; as to the Marchioness their Daugh-  
 ter, she had her own House for a Prison, and  
 Guards were set upon her: this happened in  
 October.

*They are  
 tried.*

*And con-  
 demned.*

*The King  
 mitigates  
 the Sen-  
 tence.*

And not to break the Thread of this Rela-  
 tion; I shall say, that the next Year they were  
 tryed by the Parliament, found guilty of the  
 Crimes laid to their charge, and condemned;  
 the Count, *Entragues*, and *Morgan* to be be-  
 headed in the *Greve*, and the Marchioness to be  
 shut up in a Nunnery at *Beaumont* near *Tours*,  
 till further Information could be made. But  
 his Majesty's Affection for the Marchioness  
 was too strong for suffering him to deal with  
 her, with the severity she and her Relations  
 deserved, nor even to let them languish long  
 under the uncertainty of their Fate; for on  
 the 23d of March 1605 (the Sentence had  
 passed the 1st of February) he caused his Let-  
 ters-Patent to be drawn up under the great  
 Seal, which were verified in Parliament, where-  
 by he granted her Liberty to retire to her own  
 House of *Verneuil*, but that she should con-  
 verse or speak with no body else but her own  
 Domesticks; and at last, in the Month of Sep-  
 tember following, he restored her to her full Li-  
 berty, Honours and Favours, forbidding his At-  
 torney-General, and all the Courts of the King-  
 dom to take any Cognizance of that Affair,  
 or make any Prosecution against her on that  
 Account for the future.

As to the Count of *Auvergne*, the Lord of  
*Entragues*, and *Morgan*, the King, in the same  
 Month of September, commuted their Punish-  
 ment, and instead of Death, the two first were  
 condemned to Prison for Life, and the last  
 to a perpetual Banishment out of the Kingdom;  
 he

he restored the two first to their Fame, Estates <sup>Henry IV.</sup> and Honours, depriving them, however, of <sup>1604.</sup> all their Governments; and even *d'Entragues* <sup>Pope Clement VIII</sup> obtained Leave to keep himself Prisoner in his House. (f)

These Discoveries made not only the King, <sup>CXLIV.</sup> but all his Reformed Subjects very uneasy, be- <sup>Mutual</sup> cause they looked upon all those who held <sup>Suspensions</sup> Intelligence with *Spain*, as their sworn Ene- <sup>of the King</sup> mies, and believed that all the Projects of that <sup>and the Re-</sup> Court aimed at their Ruin; therefore they were <sup>formed, fo-</sup> continually watching to discover the Designs <sup>mented by</sup> of that Cabal, and to oppose its growing too <sup>their Ene-</sup> powerful in *France*, where they had, as one may say, no Friend but the King, and even they were not so sure of him, as to have no distrust of him, seeing that he suffered himself to be too much influenced by the Jesuits, their irreconcilable Enemies. His Majesty was not ignorant of these Fears and Jealousies of his Reformed Subjects; and was graciously pleased to do several Things in their behalf, in order to allay them as much as he could, knowing that they proceeded from good Principles. With that View it was that he favourably answered their Petitions tendered this Year by their Deputies General, and redressed their Grievances. Nevertheless their Enemies were continually suggesting one thing or other to the King to their Disadvantage, especially at this time, that they were soliciting a Licence for holding a Political Assembly; sometimes they were represented as intending to canton themselves, and to form a kind of a Republick in the State; others said, that they were ready to rise in the Duke of *Bouillon's* behalf, and were to introduce a *German Army* in the very heart

*And com-  
demned:*

*The King  
mitigates  
the Sen-  
tence.*

the Count, *Entragues*, and  
headed in the *Greve*, and  
shut up in a Nunnery at  
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dom to take any Cognizati  
or make any Prosecution  
Account

*he never thought that the King intended to employ him as a Spy : That it was not worth the while of his Majesty, any more than himself, that he should inform him of every Hastiness or mad Prank, that may happen in a Country, which, for the most part are repented of as soon as committed, &c.* This was said especially on the Duke of *La Tremouille's* Account, whose Discourses were so ill represented at Court, that he received repeated Orders to come directly, and was ready to obey, notwithstanding the Advices of his Friends, when Death delivered him from all his Troubles in the Month of October, as aforesaid.

*Rosni* being returned to Court, the King was willing to grant the Reformed a Licence for holding a Political Assembly, but upon such Terms which had never been heard of before ; for he willeth, 1<sup>o</sup> That some Person of his own chusing should preside in his own Name in the Provincial as well as in the General Assemblies, to inspect whatever should be transacted. 2<sup>o</sup>. That the Deputies to that Assembly, should settle amongst themselves such an Order, that for the future, their General Deputies at Court could be named without any Assembly, whereby the Council intended to break off the Union that subsisted between the Reformed Churches in the Kingdom, had they succeeded in that Attempt. But upon *Du Plessis's* warm Remonstrances, his Majesty quite altered his Mind, and granted them full Liberty to assemble the next Year as usual at *Chatelberaud* ; nay, he was very angry against *Du Fresne Forget*, one of the Secretaries of States, who had been the Author and Adviser of these Subtilties, and obliged him to own that it was a gross Mistake, and that the

Matter

Henry IV.  
1604.  
Pope Clement VIII

CXLV.  
The King grants the Reformed a Licence for holding a Political Assembly.

Henry IV. Matter had not been well understood, (for the  
 1604. aboveſaid Conditions had been inserted in the  
 Pope Cle- first Licence, and had much offended the Re-  
 ment VIII formed.) (g)

The Protestant and Reformed Churches of *Poland* had held ſome Years before a National Synod, and drew up a Consensus, whereby the Churches of the *Auguſtan*, *Bohemian*, and *Helvetian* Confession agreed together under certain Conditions very pious and prudent, for their common Defence; declaring, that the Controverſy about the Lord's Supper ought not to hinder their Brotherhood, ſeeing that they agreed as to the Thing itſelf, and differed only as to the Manner. That Union was very neceſſary for them, being oppreſſed and cruelly perſecuted by the Catholics, and eſpecially the *Jefuits* of that Country, and it proved much advantageous for them, inasmuch as from being formerly deſpicable, becauſe of their diſunion, they came much reſpectable and dreaded in the State. It ſerved alſo as a Pattern to the *Proteſtant* and *Reformed* Princes of *Germany*, who endeavoured to procure a Reunion amongſt the Divines of both Parties, for which end they intended to hold a National Synod; but more of this under another Year. (b)

1605. This Year three *Popes* were ſucceſſively ſeen  
 CXLVI. at *Rome*; for *Clement VIII.* died in the Month  
 Clement's of March, having ſat for thirteen Years, one  
 VIII. Month and five Days together; it is ſaid, that  
 Death. he died through a too great Application, for ſearching into the intricate and obſcure Queſtion about *Grace* and *Free-Will*, whereby he heated

(g) Vie de Du Pleſſis Mornay, Liv. ii. *Memoires du meme*, Tom. ii.

(b) *Memoires de Du Pleſſis Mornay*, Tom. ii.

heated his Blood, was seized with a Fever, which Henry IV. carried him off in a few Days. The *Scholasticks*, <sup>1604.</sup> Pope Cle-  
being always affected with an itching Desire of ment VIII  
calling every thing in question, some *Fathers Je-*  
*suits* had moved the last Year three Queries at  
*Rome*, which occasioned great Heats in that Court,  
and gave great Offence to all Christendom. The  
first, *That it was not an Article of Faith to believe*  
*that CLEMENT VIII. was Pope.* The Pope was  
so much provoked at it, that, had it not been for  
the powerful Intercession of the *Spanish Amba-*  
*sador*, that Society would have been in great  
Danger. The second, *That the Sacramental Con-*  
*fession could be made by Letters sent to a Director*  
*of Conscience.* The third was about *Molina's O-*  
*pinion*, concerning the Grace of God. As to the  
two first, the good Fathers were obliged most  
humbly to submit to the *Pope's Will*, and recant  
these two extravagant Propositions: But as to  
the third, concerning the Grace of God, they  
asserted it with all their Might against the *Domi-*  
*nicans.* These last oppose it, as contrary to *St.*  
*Thomas's Opinion*, and even *St. Austin's*, which  
had been received in all the *Western Churches.*  
The *Pope* referred them to the *Congregation de*  
*Auxiliis*, which he had already appointed from  
the Year 1598, for examining the Opinions of  
the *Dominicans* and *Jesuits*, concerning these  
Points. The said *Congregation* subsisted to the  
Year 1607, when *Paul V.* put an end to it: The  
Divines whereof it was composed, the *Popes* espe-  
cially, inclined much to condemn *Molina's Opi-*  
*nion*, asserted by the *Jesuits.* (This *Ludovicus*  
*Molina*, was a Divine in the University of the  
Society of *Jesus*, of *Evara in Portugal*; he wrote  
a Book *De Concordia Gratiae & Liberi Arbitrii*,  
wherein he widely differed from the *Thomists O-*  
*pinion*; for he asserted that sufficient Graces were

Henry IV. granted to every one, which produces different  
 1605. Effects, according to the different Use that Men  
 Pope Cle. make of their Liberty; and I don't know what  
 ment VIII. middle sort of Science in God, to know the fu-  
 ture Events under certain Conditions.) Never-  
 theless nothing was decided by that Congrega-  
 tion; only they commanded Silence to both  
 Parties, till a publick Definition should be made;  
 which Silence has never been observed by either.

CXLVII.  
 Leo XI.  
*elected in  
 his stead.*

After *Clement's* Death, there were great In-  
 trigues in the Conclave, especially amongst the  
*Aldobrandine* and *Montaltine* Factions, for the E-  
 lection of a new *Pope*. Cardinal *Baronius* was  
 challenged by the *Spaniards*, on account of  
 his having said in his Annals, that the King-  
 doms of *Naples* and *Sicily* were Fiefs of the  
 See of *Rome*; whereupon the said Cardinal  
 made several ridiculous Exclamations, (I mean  
 on his being excluded.) The *French* Faction  
 carried the Point, and by the Interest of Car-  
 dinal *de Joyeuse*, Cardinal *Alexander of Medi-*  
*cis* was elected *Pope*: It is said, that this  
 Election cost King *Henry* above three hun-  
 dred thousand Crowns. He took the Name  
 of *Leo XI.* and on account of the Queen of  
*France* his Relation, his Accession to the Papal  
 Throne was ushered in with the greatest De-  
 monstrations of Joy; the great Guns fired at  
*Paris*, and Bonfires were made throughout  
 the whole Kingdom. But that Joy was soon  
 turned into Sorrow, and the great Hopes con-  
 ceived of him soon vanished away by his Death;  
 for he was seized with a little slight Fever the  
 very Day of his Inauguration, through the great  
 Fatigue of the Day, which increasng violent-  
 ly upon him, carried him off the 25th Day of  
 his Pontificate, in the 70th Year of his Age.

Paul V. e-  
*lected Pope.*

The Intrigues began again in the Conclave,  
 and were carried to a great Heat; nay, it  
 happened



happened that two Cardinals, to wit, Cardinal *Tosco da Reggio* and Cardinal *Baronius* <sup>Henry IV 1605. Pope Paul V.</sup> having been proposed by their several Parties, were brought by the same into different Chapels, and their Party was ready to proceed to Adoration; and no better way could be devised to compose these Discords, than what had been made use of in the late Election, viz. that the *Aldobrandine* and *Montaltine* Factions should join their Votes and Interest together with the *French*, which being accordingly done by Cardinal of *Joyeuse's* Intrigues, Cardinal *Camille Borgbese* was elected Pope on the 16th of *May*, and took the Name of *Paul V.* (j)

And now to return to *France*, the Reformed CXLVIII: were very busy in holding their Provincial <sup>Great Preparations among the Reformed</sup> Assemblies preparative to the National, which the King had granted them by his Warrant, and was to meet at *Chatelberaud* the 25th <sup>fortbthirPo- litical As- sembly.</sup> of *July*. The Lord *Du Plessis*, always attentive to whatever was conducive to the King's Service, to the Welfare of the Kingdom, and to the Security of the Reformed Churches, failed not to write to several Provinces, advising them of what they were to do, and how they ought to behave themselves in the present Juncture; he drew up a Memorial for that purpose, containing several Instructions as to the Choice of the Deputies which each Province was to send to the General Assembly; as to the Affairs which they were to treat of in the said Assembly, and the Petitions they were to present to the King; as to the Manner of renewing the Oath of Union between the Reformed Churches of the Kingdom, which would

F f 2 be

(j) Thuanus, Lib. cxxxiv. Mezeray Troisième Part. Tom. 6.

Henry IV. be much more acceptable to his Majesty, did they add this express Clause, that they did unite themselves together under the Obedience of the King, and of MY LORD THE DAUPHIN, &c. He proposed likewise, that another Oath should be taken by all the Deputies of the Assembly, whereby they should oblige themselves upon their Faith and Honour to renounce all Intrigues, Practices, &c. and to follow only the Direction of their own Consciences in all their Deliberations and Resolutions; as also not to divulge any thing out of the Assembly without the Consent and Licence of the same. He advised them also to depute some of the best qualified of the said Assembly to the Marquess of *Rosni*, for returning their most humble and hearty Thanks to his Majesty for the sending such a Person as the Marquess was, to notify unto them his most gracious Intentions. And at the same time to give the said Marquess to understand, that if they had insisted with his Majesty for not sending a Deputy to preside in his Name in their Assembly, it was not for want of Respect for his Person and Merits, but not to make a Precedent for others against their own Liberty, being not sure of having for the future a Person in all respects so well qualified, and inclined for the good of their Churches as he was; and that was to be only a Compliment, for preventing the Proposition which the said Marquess could have been tempted to make, directly or indirectly, to be admitted in the said Assembly by way of Gratification. As to the Places of Sureties, his Opinion was, that the Assembly ought not to insist upon any thing more, did the Marquess offer them purely and simply the Prolongation

longation of the Term during which they were <sup>Henry IV.</sup> to keep them by the first Warrant of his Ma- <sup>1605.</sup> <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> jesty. But if he did not make the expected offer, they ought to send a Deputation to the said Marquess, if he was impowered to treat with them upon that Article, or to the King himself, if not. And if he distinguished between Royal and Private Places, willing to grant the first and to take away the others, the Deputies ought to be charged to make proper Representations against such a Distinction. Such and other like were the Advices which *Du Plessis* sent to several Provinces; whereupon they regulated the Instructions they gave to their Representatives in the Political Assembly of *Chatelheraud*; and let it be said, to the Immortal Glory of that truly Great Man, notwithstanding the wicked and base Calumnies of the Compilers of *Sully's* Memoirs, had it not been for his great Credit amongst the whole Body of the Reformed Churches in *France*, and his great Moderation, Things would not have been transacted in that Assembly with such quietness, nor so much to the King's satisfaction, as they were.

If we do give as much Credit to these Scrib- <sup>CXLIX.</sup> blers, as the Rev. Mr. *Benoit* has too confidently done, in his History of the Edict of <sup>Some Reflections against the</sup> *Nantz*, the Reformed had been very trouble- <sup>Compilers of Rosni's</sup> some, nay, Seditious in the Provinces of *Gui- Memoirs.* *enne* and *Languedoc*, of *Dauphiné* and *Burgundy*, and elsewhere, where they held their Provincial Assemblies for the Election of their Representatives in the National, and for drawing up their Instructions. A Letter of the Lord *St. Germain*, one of the General Deputies of the Reformed Churches at Court, directed to the Duke of *Bouillon*, had been intercepted,

Henry IV. intercepted, which indeed was sufficient to prove  
 1605. the said General Deputy guilty of High-Trea-  
 Pope Paul son, had it been genuine. A private Memoir  
 V. written by *Du Plessis*, different from that a-  
 bove-mention'd, and dispersed amongst the  
 Deputies of the Provinces to the General As-  
 sembly, whereby he advised them to oppose  
 all the Propositions to be made by the Mar-  
 quess of *Rosni* in the King's Name, and to  
 stand their ground, was come into the hands  
 of the said Marquess, and sent by him to  
 Court. In short, according to them, the Si-  
 tuation of Affairs was such, that the King-  
 dom was threatened with an approaching Re-  
 volution, if a speedy Remedy was not applied  
 to the Disease, and the Duke of *Bouillon*, *Ro-*  
*ban*, the Lords *Du Plessis*, *Lefdignieres*, &c.  
 were the Authors and Abettors of these Com-  
 motions; whereof no better Proof could be  
 had, at least as to the Lord *Du Plessis*, than  
 the inveterate Malice and Hatred of *Rosni* a-  
 gainst him. The Truth is, that the Duke  
 of *Bouillon*, seeing the King's Inflexibility, who  
 had not been moved by the Intercessions of  
 Queen *Elizabeth*, nor by that of the greatest  
 Princes of *Germany*, and of the four Prote-  
 stant Cantons of *Switzerland*, but persisted in  
 his Ill-will against him, tired with three Years  
 Exile, and understanding that the King was  
 advised to besiege *Sedan*; did not care to stop  
 the Motions of his Friends in *Guienne* and *Lan-*  
*guedoc*, though they acted without his Orders,  
 in hopes to divert his Majesty's Arms, at least  
 for a time. These Commotions were very rife  
 in these two Provinces, they had been raised  
 by the late Duke of *Biron*, were kept up and  
 fomented by the Count of *Auvergne* and the  
*Spanish* Faction; *Biron's* Friends were enraged

at his Death, they looked upon his Majesty <sup>Henry IV.</sup> as a Tyrant, and missed no opportunity of re-<sup>1605.</sup>vil-<sup>Pope Paul</sup>ing his Government and Administration. <sup>V.</sup>

The Duke of *Bouillon* had likewise many Friends in these Provinces, where most part of his ample Estates lay ; they very inconsiderately joined with the *Bironians*, and pretended an Order from the Duke for so doing ; nay, they gave out, that in a short time he would come at the Head of a strong Army to their relief, and other like things, which had no better Foundation than their ambitious or deluded Imagination ; being not at all warranted by the Duke in what they did or said, as we shall see by unquestionable Witnesses under the next Year.

True it is again, that the Churches of several Southern Provinces were much offended to see a Lord, of such Quality and Rank as the Duke was, so obstinately persecuted, without any appearing Cause, and denied for three Years together what could not be denied even to the meanest of the Subjects of his Religion, *viz.* to be tried by one of the Chambers of the Edict ; therefore some of them had had a mind to charge their Representatives to make a Motion in the General Assembly, for interceding to the King in the said Duke's Behalf. But they were diverted from that Thought, by the wise and prudent Remonstrances of *Du Plessis*.

It is true likewise, that the General Assembly had a mind to take notice of the Affairs of the Principality of *Orange*, because the Church of that City, and the Governor of the Castle, namely *Blaccons*, had given them to understand that Religion would be in danger, were the Governour changed, as the King and the Prince

Henry IV. of Orange \* intended to do : but upon better  
 1605. Information, they wisely left that Affair to the  
 Pope Paul V. King's Disposal.

It is true again, that the Assembly had at  
 \* Philip of first resolved to insist upon the Settlement of  
 Nassau re- a Council in every Province, who should cor-  
 leased of respond one with another for the Mainte-  
 late from nance of good Order among themselves,  
 his long and the better Observation of the Edict : and  
 Confinement in we shall leave it to any judicious Reader,  
 Spain. whether *Rosni* acted the part of a good Re-  
 formed, who had at heart the Safety and Wel-  
 fare of his Brethren, or the part of a slavish  
 Courtier, when going far beyond his Orders,  
 he opposed with all his Might such a Settle-  
 ment? at least, if we believe what the Com-  
 pilers of his Memoirs have written upon this  
 Subject.

Let us come to the Assembly which met  
 on the 25th of July.

Several Historians, and *Mezeray* himself,  
 have confidently said, that *Rosni* presided in  
 it ; whereas the Compilers of his Memoirs say,  
 he did not. But then, according to their wont-  
 ed Custom, they turn this to their Hero's ad-  
 vantage ; for they pretend that it was out of  
 Modesty, that he refused that Honour which  
 the Assembly WOULD CONFER upon him as  
 soon as they met together. They pretend,  
 that the King understanding that he did not  
 preside, was something angry with the As-  
 sembly, but was appeased by *Rosni's* Letter,  
 whereby he let his Majesty know, that it was  
 not the Assembly, but his own Fault, if he  
 did not preside, because he had thought that it  
 was more for his Majesty's Service if he should  
 abstain, than if he did accept. But the truth  
 is, That *Rosni* was no sooner arrived at *Cha-*  
*telheraud,*

*telberaud*, than he endeavoured to bribe the Henry IV. Deputies as they arrived one after another, desiring their Votes and Interest for his being 1605. elected President of that Assembly : That he Pope Paul V. was proposed for such in the said Assembly ; but that Step was thought of so great Consequence, as making a Precedent for the future, that he had but two Votes for him, and the rest unanimously voted against him. Afterwards, if we believe his own Scribblers, he behaved himself, during the time of the Assembly, more like a Foe than a Friend to the Reformed, and disputed the Ground Inch by Inch before he granted them what the King had empower'd him to grant.

Another thing, wherein he was more successful, was to hinder the Assembly from receiving any Deputies, or Letters from any private Person of what Rank or Quality soever, Foreigner or Native. This was done purposely, on account of the Duke of *Bouillon* and of some others, the Court being afraid lest that Assembly should take his Part, and oppose the Resolution his Majesty had taken to reduce him by force of Arms.

*Rosni* opened the Session with a Speech, which, if it was such as it is mentioned by his Secretaries, is no better than a Demonstration of his proud, haughty, rough Temper ; nay, of an unpardonable Imprudence in him, seeing that he treats therein the greatest Lords of the Reformed Party (such as the Dukes of *Roban* and *Bouillon*, the Count of *Chatillon*, the Marquess of *La Force*, the Lords of *Du Plessis* and *Les Disguieres*) with the utmost Contempt, even reviling this last as to his Morals. He spared not great Threatnings against the said Assembly in general, and every Member

Henry IV. ber in particular, to make use of his Authority as the King's Commissary, and as Governor of the Province wherein they were assembled, did they keep any Correspondence with, or receive any Deputy from the Persons above mentioned or any other.

1605-  
Pope Paul  
V.

Three Points were chiefly debated in that Assembly. 1°. The Cautionary Towns, the keeping whereof was, after many Struggles with *Rosni*, consented to for four Years longer than the Term appointed by the Edict of *Nantz*. 2°. The Nomination of new General Deputies to reside at Court. The King shewing some Reluctancy against the continuation of the Lord of *St. Germain Monroy*, Deputy for the Nobility; in compliance with his Majesty's Desire, the Assembly insisted not thereupon; but the great Difficulty was to find out a Medium, whereby they could preserve their own Liberty, or at least a Shadow thereof, and the King a Prerogative of a new Invention, for his Majesty had been made to believe by the Flatterers, that it was his Right to name the General Deputies that were to reside near his Person. At last they agreed to name six, out of whom the King should pick two; and the Lord *De La Nouë*, Son to the great *De La Nouë Iron-Arm*, for the Nobility, with Mr. *Du Cros* for the Commons, were the Persons chosen by the King. 3°. They added a Clause to their usual Oath of Union, to wit, under the Authority of my Lord the *Dauphin*, whereas they formerly named the King only. They made that Addition for these two Reasons, first to blot out of the Queen's Mind the false Notion that their Enemies had given her, that the Reformed deeming the Pope to be the Antichrist, accounted

her



her Marriage with the King to be altogether unlawful, and consequently her Children to be Bastards. Secondly, In order to know surely whom they ought to obey, should the King chance to die, and avoid thereby a Division amongst themselves. The King was so much the more well pleased with this Token of their Fidelity, as he had not required it from them, and *Rosni* failed not to ascribe to himself the Honour thereof, though indeed *DuPlessis*, as above-said, had been the Instigator of that Motion.

Henry IV.  
1605.  
Pope Paul  
V.

That Commissary, according to his Instructions, endeavoured to make them consent to hold no more General Assemblies, on pretence that having nothing else to do, as he saith, than to call their General Deputies to account, and to name some others; that might easily be done by their Synods, without putting themselves to so much trouble and expences. But the Assembly rejected that Proposition, as being inspired by their Enemies, and as a Snare laid on purpose to break their Union; they knew very well that Affairs of great Moment might occur, which were not of the Resort of those Ecclesiastical Assemblies, and which could not be neglected without exposing the whole Body of the Churches to a certain Ruin; however, they agreed to acquaint his Majesty with the Reasons that should make them judge it necessary; and in that Case, if the King found there was occasion for it, he promised to give them Satisfaction.

*Rosni's* Intrigues were more prevailing than all the Endeavours of the Marshal of *Bouillon* and his Friends; for the Assembly refused to concern themselves in the Preservation of his Places, and left to the King to do with them as he should think proper, though they were reckoned

CXLVIII  
*The King  
marches in-  
to Guienne.*

Henry IV. reckoned amongst the Cautionary Towns. The  
 1605. Effect of that Negociation was, that after the  
 Pope Paul V. breaking of that Assembly, the King marched  
 in *October* with his Army into *Guienne*, to  
 reduce the Places belonging to the said Mar-  
 shal, and some others: but indeed he found  
 no resistance; for *Bouillon*, having timely no-  
 tice of the King's Resolution, wrote to his  
 Majesty before he set out for that Expedition,  
 offering to put into his hands whatever he  
 had in *France*, and at the same time sent  
 Orders to all his Servants to deliver up all  
 his Places to the King without the least Com-  
 pulsion; nevertheless, it cost the Lives of some  
 few of the most active in these Commotions,  
 who were tried and executed.

CXLIX. The Lord *Du Plessis* had not been present  
*Rosni's ill* at the Assembly of *Chateleraud*, for Reasons  
*Office to* of Prudence, lest he should be thought the  
*Du Plessis.* Author of the Difficulties which might occur  
 in their Transactions. Now this very Absence  
 was cried up as a Crime by *Rosni*, who charg-  
 ed him, in a Letter which he wrote to him,  
 with neglecting the King's Service, and with  
 being the Author of certain Memoirs that were  
 dispersed at *Chateleraud*; nevertheless at the  
 same time the said Marquess of *Rosni* had writ-  
 ten to the King, who shewed some uneasi-  
 ness about *Du Plessis*, that his Majesty need  
 not be uneasy upon his account, for he had  
 so well contrived things, that he was sure he  
 would not come to the Assembly, having pro-  
 cured under-hand some Persons who had gi-  
 ven him to understand, that if he came he  
 would be ill received. Did the Marquess act  
 on this Occasion the part of a Gentleman? Let  
 the Reader be Judge. But it was not very  
 difficult for *Du Plessis* to wipe off all these ma-  
 licious

licious Aspersions, when he had the Honour to see the King, who had sent for him at *Chastelheraud* as he went into *Guienne*, and who was pleased to express the great Satisfaction he had received of him in the Conference he had with him at that Place. (l)

This Year the *Jesuits* triumphed over the Justice of the Parliament of *Paris*, and of all true *Frenchmen*; for by their Importunities they obtained at last of the King the pulling down of the Monument which had been erected in Memory of their detestable Attempt to murder his Majesty by the Hands of CHASTEL, for which he had been executed, and the Society expelled the Kingdom about nine Years before. All the Remonstrances of the said Parliament were needless, they were forced to submit to the King's Will; all the Favour they could obtain was, that they were not obliged themselves to destroy their own Work. (m)

The Beginning of this Year found the Assembly of the Clergy met together at *Paris*; *Jerom De Villars*, Archbishop of *Vienne* in *Dauphiné* was their Speaker. He tendered to the King their Petition upon their Grievances, he insisted warmly upon the Vexations which the Church underwent every-where, the infamous Trade of Benefices, the Simoniackal keeping of Benefices, the Pensions paid upon them to Lay-men, &c. and said, all these Disorders proceeded

(m) All that I have said concerning that Political Assembly, is extracted out of the Mem. of Du Plessis, Tom. ii. from pag. 107 to 128. Vie du meme, Liv. ii. 309—10. Mem. du Duc de Sully, Tom. ii. ch. li. p. 487—534. Vie de D'Aubigné, written by himself at the beginning Des Avantures du Baron de Foeneffe, Tom. i. Thuanus has not mentioned this Assembly, I can't tell the Reason.

Henry IV.  
1605.  
Pope Paul  
V.

CL.  
New Vic-  
tory of the  
Jesuits at  
Paris.

1606.  
CLI.  
Assembly  
of the Cler-

Henry IV. proceeded from the denial to receive the Council of Trent; *Strange thing* (says he) *that the earthly Kingdoms, which are but the Elements of this low World,* should attempt to withdraw themselves from the sweet Influence of the Church, which is the heavenly World! That transitory Things should oppose the Effects of the everlasting; and that they should force Divine Reasons to yield to some Human Considerations, and that they should in a manner render God subject to Men! And such other like Stuff.

'Tis the common Stile of these Harangues: They always harp on the same String; and it has been observed, that the Roman Clergy in the greatest Lustre they had been for these 500 Years past, has still made as bitter Complaints, as if the Roman Church had been brought into the utmost Desolation. So this most Reverend Prelate made such mournful Complaints about the Condition to which the Catholick Religion was brought, that had he been credited, the Catholicks in *France* groaned under the heaviest Oppression. Moreover, he charged the Reformed with several Contraventions to the Edict of *Nantz*, and with several Scandals given to the Catholicks; he accused them particularly of Irreverence and Prophanation in some Places, of having trampled upon the Sacrament at *Milbaud*.

The King's Answer was adapted to the several Articles of the Speech, and received different Constructions, some taking it to be favourable, and others disobliging. As to the Council of *Trent*, his Majesty did not think proper to speak the Word, that it was not agreeable with the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*, but he told them, that he wished as  
much

much as they, that it could be received in Henry IV. the Kingdom, but was very sorry to find such great Difficulties that obstructed that Reception; that he would spare neither his Honour nor his Crown to promote the Honour and Glory of the Church: That as to Simonies, &c. he was not the Author thereof, and did not meddle himself with such a shameful Trade, as the Favourites of his Predecessors had done, but he bestowed the Bishopricks gratis upon deserving Men. As to the Excesses laid to the charge of the Reformed, it is said, that he spoke plain to them, and desired that it might be proved against them, promising to do them justice, if they were guilty of such Crimes.

1606.  
Pope Paul  
V.

The Clergy however obtained several favourable Regulations, such as the Redemption of their Estates and other Goods which had been sold at a very low Price, provided there should not be a Possession of forty Years standing; they also obtained leave since the selling thereof, for trying the Ecclesiasticks and Monks for their Crimes or disorderly Conversation, before they were admitted into the Pale of the Reformed Churches.

To understand this, one must know, 1°. That at that Time it was sincerely acknowledged throughout the Kingdom, that the Edict of *Nantz* allowed Liberty of Conscience to all the Subjects of either Religion, whether Ecclesiasticks or Lay-men. 2°. That in consequence of that Liberty, many Priests and Monkse embraced every day the Reformed Religion. 3°. That these Conversions were most cruel Mortifications to the Clergy, especially because they esteem'd as Affronts put upon them, the custom of some Churches in the *Southern Provinces*

Henry IV. *Provinces*, who were used to store up in their  
 1606. Vestry-Rooms the Habits of those Proselytes;  
 Pope Paul as so many Trophies erected in honour of  
 V. the Reformed Religion. 4°. That the said  
 Clergy daring not as yet to petition the King  
 for hindering those Conversions, because the  
 Law which authorized them was as yet too  
 new to be so soon infringed in such a Point;  
 they bethought themselves of the abovesaid  
 Means, for putting a stop to them. 5°. That  
 they supposed that no Priest or Monk would  
 ever adhere to the Reformed Religion, was  
 it not for avoiding the Canonical Punishment  
 of their Crimes and disorderly Life. Lastly,  
 they considered this Concession as an effectual  
 Means to prevent that Desertion, since it was  
 an easy matter for them to frame an Accu-  
 sation right or wrong against him, whom they  
 suspected to have a mind to change, and force  
 him by Threatnings and ill Usage to alter his  
 Mind, or tire him with long Imprisonment,  
 or load him with ignominious Condemnations,  
 if at last they were obliged to release him;  
 which would have frustrated the Hopes the  
 Reformed conceived from such Conversions.  
 Nevertheless, the Clergy never received the  
 Advantages they expected from that Conces-  
 sion, because those who had a mind to re-  
 nounce the Roman Religion, for the most part  
 found means to escape the Fury of those un-  
 merciful Judges.

They obtained some other Regulations as  
 to Religion: 1°. That the Reformed should  
 not be allowed to be buried either in Churches,  
 or Monasteries, nor in the Church-Yards be-  
 longing to the Catholicks, under any Pretence  
 soever. 2°. That no Temples would be built  
 so near their Churches as to disturb or scan-  
 dalize

lize the least in the World, Priests or others, <sup>Henry IV.</sup> while they performed Divine Service. 3<sup>o</sup>. <sup>1606.</sup> That Teachers, Tutors, or School-masters of <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> Villages should be approved of by the Curates, without prejudicing the Edict of *Nantz*. (n) But it is observable, that the Edict which they obtained upon these Articles, and several others, could not be verified in Parliament but in the Year 1608.

The King was so well pleased with the good <sup>CLII.</sup> Success he had had in the Assembly of *Chastelheraud*, which he ascribed intirely to the <sup>Rosni created Duke of</sup> prudent Management of his Favourite the Mar-<sup>Sully.</sup> quess of *Rosni*, that, for his sake, not only he received very kindly the Deputies of the said Assembly, but he erected the Manor of *Sully* into a Dutchy Peerdom, and he was received in the Parliament of *Paris* in the Month of *March*, with the usual Formalities, but with a Pomp and Magnificence suitable to a Superintendent of the Finances. (o)

Now the King provoked at the Duke of <sup>CLIII.</sup> *Bouillon*'s Obstinacy, who for four Years past <sup>The King march to</sup> had refused to surrender himself to his Ma-<sup>besiege Se-</sup> jesty's Mercy, before he was perfectly sure of <sup>dan.</sup> his Reconciliation with him, resolved to march against him, and force him at *Sedan*; to which he was strongly solicited by his first Minister *Rosni*, whom henceforward, I shall call Duke of *Sully*. Therefore having appointed the 23d of *March* for his setting out, he summoned the Parliament, and told them the Reasons of his intended Expedition, saying that he marched to *Sedan* with both his Arms open

(n) Thuan. Lib. cxxxiv. but he is not so full. Mezeray 3<sup>e</sup> Partie, Tom. vi. Benoit Hist. de l'Ed. de Nantes, Tom. i. Lib. ix.

(o) Thuan. Lib. cxxxvi.

Henry IV. to receive the Supplicant into his Favour, provided he did not render himself unworthy thereof. *De La Nouë* and *Netancour* had been many times from Court to *Sedan*, and from *Sedan* to Court for negotiating a Reconciliation, and the Terms thereof; *Bouillon* professed to be ready to submit himself to the King, being willing to receive his Majesty and the whole Court, not only within the Walls of the City, but even within his own Castle, and offered to appear in Person as a Supplicant, and ask Pardon for what was past after the manner his Majesty should prescribe. But he could never be brought as yet to surrender his Castle, as he was commanded, before he was certain of a sincere Reconciliation with his Majesty.

During these Debates between the Marshal Duke and the King's Deputies, his Majesty arrived at *Donchery* three Miles distant from *Sedan*, not only with his Army, which was to have been in a few days twenty-five thousand Men strong, with a numerous Train of Artillery, but also with the whole Court, and the Queen herself, who was but just then gone out after Lying-in, and who favoured underhand the Marshal; for before she set out from *Paris*, she had sent him Word by a Confident, that she wished him well, and that she would not be wanting to him in proper time; she desired him only to continue, and not to suffer himself to be carried through Despair out of the Bounds of his Loyalty.

During such a long Space of Time, THE KING HAD AT LAST CERTAINLY FOUND OUT, that the Marshal, though accused of all those things above-mentioned under the Years 1602 and 1603, was guilty rather for hav-  
ing



ing been acquainted with part of *Biron* and *Henry IV.*  
the Count of *Auvergne's* Plots, than for hav-<sup>1606.</sup>  
ing had any hand in them ; and that his De-<sup>Pope Paul</sup>  
signs at first seemed to aim at nothing else, <sup>V.</sup>  
than to oppose the exorbitant Power of a Fa-  
voutite, who trampled under his feet the Laws  
of the Realm, the Liberty and Dignity of the  
Nobles, and the greatest Lords : but as to  
any criminal Correspondence with Foreigners,  
consequently with the *Spaniards*, his Majesty  
was now fully convinced, that the said Mar-  
shal had never any thing to do with them.  
Nay, he certainly knew, that he had sted-  
fastly rejected the magnificent Offers lately  
made unto him by the Court of *Spain*. There-  
fore he was offended rather at the Obstinacy  
of that great Man, in other respects so dear  
to him, than at any thing else, and seemed  
to be ready to improve any fair Opportu-  
nity of reconciling himself with him upon  
honourable Terms ; even there were several  
Courtiers and Ministers of the King's Coun-  
cil, who dreaded the good Success of this Ex-  
pedition, lest *Sully*, puffed up thereby, should  
abuse more than ever his Master's Authority,  
to the detriment of others.

Therefore they improved that Great Mas-  
ter's Absence, who was gone to hasten the  
Artillery : They renewed the Negociation at  
*Torcy*, where the Duke repaired upon a Safe-  
Conduct ; he made not many Words, for *Vil-*  
*leroy*, whom the King had sent to treat with  
him, having assured him of the King and  
Queen's Affection and Love to him, he con-  
sented easily to the Conditions, and promised  
to surrender his Castle as well as his City ;  
the Treaty was signed, and the next Day in  
the Morning he waited upon his Majesty at

Henry IV. *Donchery*. The King was in Bed, the Duke  
 1606. kneeled down, and beg'd pardon, but the King  
 Pope Paul suffered him to remain not long in that  
 V. Situation; he embraced him, and the Recon-  
 ciliation was so sincere, that the Duke was  
 as great with him the very same Day, as he  
 had ever been; he was restored to all his Estates  
 in *France*, and to all his Charges, and never  
 a Reconciliation between a Prince and one of  
 his Subjects was attended with greater, or more  
 sincere Demonstrations of Joy and Satisfaction  
 on both sides than this: and what was more  
 agreeable, was, that this Joy and Satisfaction was  
 common to the whole Kingdom. Never the  
 Parliament of *Paris* verified and registered an  
 Order from the King with more Alacrity and  
 Diligence, than they did the Act of Oblivion  
 which the King sent them from *Donchery* by  
 an Express; so well the Duke of *Bouillon* was  
 respected and beloved! Bonfires were made  
 every where; Guns fired at *Paris*, as well as  
 at *Sedan*, and the People of *Paris* feasted upon  
 this Occasion; the Duke of *Sully* only was  
 fretting within himself, as he, or his Se-  
 cretaries insinuate it; he was enraged when he  
 heard that the Treaty had been concluded  
 without him, he blamed the King's Clemency,  
 and refused to obey his Orders at first, when  
 he commanded the Cannon at *Paris* to be fired,  
 sending Remonstrances to his Majesty upon  
 that Subject; but the second Command being  
 positive, and worded in Terms which left no  
 room for any further Resistance, without in-  
 curring his Master's Displeasure, he was forced  
 to obey. We found these Particulars in his  
 own Memoirs. The King made a triumphant  
 Entry at *Sedan*, where he was received with  
 the loudest and sincerest Acclamations of Joy;  
 he

he stayed but a few Days in the Castle ; and though, by an Article of the Treaty, he was to be Master thereof for four Years together, nevertheless, being fully satisfied with the Duke of *Bouillon's* Submission, he restored it unto him a Month after. This is the Account which *Thuanus* gives us of that Affair ; and is fully confirmed by *Mezeray*, who looks upon the Articles laid to the Charge of the said Duke, as so many Calumnies of People of no Repute, or of ill Fame. So much I have thought to say, to the Discharge of that Lord. (p)

During these Transactions, which ended in the Month of *April*, the Court continued to cause the Edict of *Nantz* to be executed in the Places where it had not been as yet. The Commissaries had restored Mass at *Rockelle*, but that Worship had been interrupted there for so long a time, that People were quite unused to it, and consequently, that Restoration met with no small Opposition. The Clergy applied themselves to the King for Redress ; but the Court was at a loss to answer their Petition, daring not to do it favourably, lest they should occasion some Commotion in that City ; nor harshly, lest the Ecclesiasticks should thereby lose the hopes of returning thither. The thing was referred to an Arbitration, and *Sully*, in whom the *Rochelese* had some Confidence, was chosen Mediator. The Demands of the Clergy were reduced to six Articles : *Sully* made them desist from the two first, which related to their Houses and Revenues ; he obtained a Grant for them upon

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(p) *Thuanus*, Lib. cxxxvi. p. 1242, 43. *Mezeray* 3<sup>e</sup>. Partic, Tom. vi. p. 320, 321, 322, 332, 33, 34. *Mem. de Sully*, Tom. 3<sup>e</sup>. ch. 4<sup>e</sup>. p. 37, 38.

Henry IV. the third, for leave to visit their own Sick  
 1606. in the Hospitals, and Criminals, and other  
 Pope Paul Prisoners of their Religion, on condition they  
 V. should perform their Office secretly, and without  
 Pomp ; and he prevailed with them not to attend the Criminals at the Place of Execution. Upon the 4th, he persuaded the Reformed to allow the Priests to be present at the Funerals, but without carrying the Cross on high, and to permit that they should wear their Canonical Habits in publick, without being insulted or abused. Upon the 5th, he advised the Catholicks not to pretend to any civil Office, unless they should be duly elected to it after the usual Form ; but at the same time, he exhorted the Reformed not to oppose their Admission to Handicrafts and Trades, and not to turn out of the City the Catholick Journey-men, lest the Catholicks should do the same with the Reformed, in the Places where they were the strongest. By the 6th, the Catholicks desired a Place of Worship, pretending that the King's Commissaries had appointed one for them ; *Sully* advised to give them leave to build a Church, provided the Place were neither suspicious nor troublesome ; that in such a Case it would be proper to prevail with them to accept of another, and upon their refusal, to tender a Petition to his Majesty for a Regulation, and to refrain from all violent Means.

These Advices, which had been agreed upon by the King and his Council, and which served partly as a Law until the renewing of the Troubles, show that the grand Maxim observed in the Execution of the Edict was, To leave Things in the same Condition as they were in at the time of the publishing thereof, and to preserve to either Religion the Privilege  
 of

of Superiority in those Places, where they were superiour in number at that time. (q)

Henry IV.  
1606.  
Pope Paul  
V.

I shall but just mention the several other Occurrences of this Year. The Edict of the Parliament of *Tboulouse*, published in the Month of *June*, whereby the Priests in their Jurisdiction were ordered to pray for the King in their Mass, forbidding the use of all Mass-Books printed at *Paris*, *Bourdeaux* and *Lyons* in the time of the Rebellion, wherein the Prayer for the King and the Royal Family had been purposely omitted ; for the Priest and Curates of that Jurisdiction had persisted till then not to pray for the King. (r)

CLV.  
Several o-  
ther Oc-  
currences.

About the same time the King, Queen, the Princess of *Conty*, the Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Vendome*, escaped narrowly being drowned in the Coach, as they were going to take the Ferry at *Nully's Haven*, for there was no Bridge as yet in that Place : One of the Horses took a Fright, and instead of coming into the Boat ran into the River, and drove the Coach into a deep Place ; the Gentlemen that followed on Horse-back, instantly went into the Water, and saved the King and the others, but the Queen was more exposed, for she was the last whom they could come at. (s)

By the Treaty of the Reduction of *Paris*, the Reformed were not allowed the Exercise of their Religion, nearer than five Leagues distant from that City ; afterwards it was allowed at *Ablon*, not quite so far ; but yet the Distance was too great for going and coming in a Day, especially in the Winter-Time.

G g 4

It

(q) Benoit Hist. de l'Edit de Nantz, Tom. i. Liv. ix. (r) Thuan. Lib. 136. pag. 1245.

(s) Thuanus Lib. cxxxvi.

Henry IV. 1606. Pope Paul V. It was very inconvenient for such as had Children to be christened, who might chance to die upon the Road. Moreover, the Foreigners, and the Reformed Lords of the Court complained, that it was impossible for them to pay their Duties to God, and to the King on one and the same day, by reason of the too great distance; the Inconvenience was greater than ever, for they were deprived of the Advantage of Divine Service at Court, by the Duchess of *Bar's* Death, which they had enjoyed whilst she was alive. Therefore they intreated the King to grant them a Place nearer; and his Majesty willing to gratify them, granted them the Village of *Charenton* near the Abby of *St. Maur*, within two short Leagues of *Paris*; they obtained his Letters Patent for it, bearing Date the First of *August*, by virtue of which they were put in possession of the same within a few Days. The King by the said Letters reserved to himself the Cognizance of all the Oppositions and Appellations that might be formed upon that account, and forbid the Parliament and all other Judges to meddle with it.

But for all that, that Affair did not pass without difficulty; the Lord of the Manor was the Man who opposed it, grounding his Opposition upon an Article of the Edict of *Nantz*, whereby it was enacted, that the Reformed shall have no Place of publick Worship in Manors belonging to Catholicks, without the Will and Consent of the Lords thereof; but he was over-ruled by transferring of the Cause to the Council; nevertheless his Successors have renewed their Pretensions from time to time till the repealing of the said Edict. The Tumult of the Rabble was not so easily suppressed, as that Gentleman's Endeavours.

Soon

Soon after that Establishment, they raised a Henry IV. Sedition at St. *Anthony's Gate*, the nearest to <sup>1606.</sup> *Charenton*, against those who came back from *Pope Paul V.* Church; and though the Magistrates immediately repaired thither, it was not in their power to quell it; the Consequences thereof would have proved very bad, had not the King came back on purpose from *Fontainebleau*, his Presence restored Peace and Tranquillity in the City, and confirmed the Reformed in the Possession of the Favour he had granted them. (t)

About the same time, the King received and answered very favourably the Bill of Grievances of the Reformed, tendered to him by their Deputies General; it consisted of several Articles about the Infractions of the Edict in several Places, and their Grievances were as fully redressed, as it could be done by the King's Letters and Orders. (v)

\* The Gunpowder Treason, which was to be effected here on the 5th of November 1605, is a Thing so well known, that I need not to insist upon it; I shall observe this only, That Father *Cotton* prevailed so far with King *Henry*, as to make him believe, not only that the Jesuits had no hand in it, but also that the whole was but a Contrivance of their Enemies to work their Ruin; upon which account it was, that his Majesty sent Orders to several Sea-Ports to receive and entertain kindly all the *English* Exiles, who should take Refuge in his Dominions. (u)

These good and modest Fathers attempted a thing, at the very beginning of this Year, which <sup>1607.</sup> *CLVI.* *The Jesuits Attempt at Rochel.*

(t) Benoit *ibid.* (v) Idem *ibid.* (u) Thuan. Lib. cxxxvi. *Mezeray ibid.*

Henry IV. which would have been severely punished in  
 1607. any other but themselves. The Jesuit *Segui-*  
*Pope Paul* ran, one of the boldest Men of that Sect, be-  
 V. ing countenanced by *La Varenne* their Pro-  
 tector, obtained Letters from two Secretaries  
 of State, without the King's Knowledge, tho'  
 in his Name, to the *Rochelese*, commanding  
 them to suffer him to preach in their City.  
 The *Jesuit* came to the Gates, boldly told his  
 Name, Profession, Design, and offered his pre-  
 tended Power from the King. The *Rochelese*  
 refused to let him come into their City, tel-  
 ling him that they were very well satisfied  
 that *Jesus* had no Companion, nor he, any  
 Letters from the King. *Seguiran* made a great  
 Noise about the Refusal; and the King out  
 of Policy, not to discredit his Secretaries of  
 State, or rather not to offend so daring a So-  
 ciety, feigned to be very angry at the *Ro-*  
*chelese* proceeding; and gave other Letters to  
 the *Jesuit*, ordering the *Rochelese* to receive  
 him for form-sake, which done he was com-  
 manded to retire quietly. (x)

CLVII.  
 The 18th  
 National  
 Synod.

One of the most material Occurrences of this  
 Year, was the holding of the 18th National  
 Synod at *Rochele*. It had been put off to this  
 Year, notwithstanding the Instances of the Re-  
 formed, because the Pope's Legate was coming  
 for the Christening of the *Dauphin*; his Ma-  
 jesty was unwilling to give him the Mortifica-  
 tion to see such an Assembly on foot, wherein  
 he was informed, that the Article about the  
*Antichrist* was to be renewed.

They opened this Sessions on the First of  
*March*. Many things were proposed and trans-  
 acted

(x) Mem. de Sully, Tom. iii. ch. He says, that the  
 King told him that the *Rochelese* were in the right. Benoit  
 Tom. i. Liv. ix. Mem. de Du Plessis, Tom. iii. p. 171, 172.



acted in that Assembly, which were not at Henry IV. all agreeable, not only to the Court, but even to <sup>1607.</sup> the wisest amongst the Reformed, especially to *Pope Paul V.* the sober and prudent Lord *Du Plessis*. But we must not follow, on this Occasion, the Relation given by the Rev. Mr. *Benoit*, in his History of the Edict of *Nantz*; for were we to believe him in all the Circumstances he relates, that Assembly made itself guilty not only of Imprudence, but even of Disobedience and Rebellion against the King; when indeed they went not so far. He pretends, that the Synod, ACCORDING TO CUSTOM, sent three Deputies to the King, as soon as they were assembled. That is a gross Mistake, there was no such Custom in use at that time, as to begin their Sessions by sending of Deputies to Court; and the Reasons which he gives for that Deputation are still more wrong; *They were*, says he, *charged to obtain chiefly three Things*, 1°. *That they might proceed to the Nomination of two general Deputies*. Now by their Writ of Summons given in *December* last, they were ordered to proceed to the said Nomination. But without paying a greater Regard to that Gentleman's Relation than is due, I shall make the following Observations upon this Synod.

1°. I cannot tell what Reason moved his Majesty to order them to proceed to the Nomination of the General Deputies, if it was not for putting a stop to the Political Assemblies, for there was no more than eighteen or nineteen Months gone since *La Nouë* and *Du Cros* were in charge, and they were to continue for three Years, as it had been consented to at *Chatelheraud*, and they were both very agreeable to his Majesty. But if the King's Council had any thing like this in View, they were much disappointed;

Henry IV. pointed; for the Deputies in the Synod pre-  
 1606. tending that they could not swerve from the  
 Pope Paul Instructions of their Principals, insisted upon  
 V. naming only two General Deputies, leaving  
 it to his Majesty to refer the whole matter to  
 a General Political Assembly which he should  
 be pleased to summon, and wherein the Con-  
 dition, and Number of six, and the three  
 Years Terms of their Charge, may be debated  
 and resolved on. It seems that the Nomination  
 of six Persons, out of whom the King was to  
 pick out two, having been resolved on and  
 followed in the Assembly of *Chatelberaud*, and  
 the Term of three Years having been in some  
 measure confirmed by a Precedent, the Lord of  
*St. Germain Monroy*, and Mr. *Des Bordes*, hav-  
 ing been in charge for three Years, this Assem-  
 bly ought not to have made any difficulty to  
 comply with the King's Will in both these re-  
 spects. But it is to be observed, that as to the  
 first, what had been done at *Chatelberaud*,  
 could not be brought into precedent, for the  
 Deputies of the Provinces had exceeded their  
 Commission in that respect, and consequently  
 their Principals were not obliged to ratify what  
 they had done; besides which, no certain Regu-  
 lation as to that was settled in that Assembly  
 for the future; therefore the Synod of *Rochel*  
 might very well act as they did without incur-  
 ring the Blame of Disobedience. As to the  
 2d Point, we must remember that though the  
 two first General Deputies had been in charge  
 for three Years together, they had been so only  
 because they were confirmed and continued in  
 their Office by the Synod of *Gap*. Upon the  
 whole I shall say, that in my humble Opinion,  
 the present Synod would have acted in a way  
 much better consistent with their Profession,

had they carried their Compliance a little further, had they yielded freely what they were obliged to consent to by force; for the King would be obeyed, and the Deputies which they sent to Court during their Sessions could obtain no Alteration at all; they named but two General Deputies, namely, the Lord of *Villarnoul*, Son-in-law to the Lord *Du Plessis* for the Nobility, and Mr. *La Mirande* for the Commons; but the King would not accept of that Nomination, nor hearken to any Remonstrances made for that purpose; and at last the King's Council thought it to be more for his Majesty's Honour to grant them a Political Assembly, which was held the next Year at *Gergeau*, than to confirm an Election which derogated from his Royal Writ.

Henry IV.  
1607.  
Pope Paul  
V.

2°. As to the Doctrine, the Article of the *Antichrist* came again under their Consideration; and what had been resolved thereupon in the Synod of *Gap*, was confirmed and ratified in this, contrary to all Rules of Christian Prudence and Moderation; nevertheless, upon the Charitable Remonstrances of *Du Plessis*, that Article remained decided, but not executed; that is to say, it was not printed in *France* in any new Edition of the Confession of Faith.

As to Dr. *Piscator*'s Opinion concerning our Justification which had been censured by the Synod of *Gap*, the University of *St. Andrew* having desired the Lord *Du Plessis* to interpose with the Churches of *France*, to the end that that Dispute should not be embittered by Writings which might provoke the said Doctor, and that the Article of the said Synod should be moderated, promising that the said *Piscator* nor his Followers should not write; that Lord wrote to all the Provincial Synods, and was

as

Henry VI. as favourably answered as he could desire; and indeed in this Synod they not only moderated the Decree of *Gap*, but they severely censured the Book of a deposed Minister; namely, *Felix Huguetti*, who had attempted to confute Dr. *Piscator's* Opinion without being licensed by the Synod: however, they disapproved the abovesaid Doctrine, though they commended the great Modesty of its Author, and ordered all Ministers and Teachers of the Reformed Churches in the Kingdom to conform themselves to that Form of Sound Words which had been hitherto taught amongst them, and is contained in the Holy Scripture: That the whole Obedience of Christ, both in his Life and Death, is imputed to us for the full Remission of our Sins, and Acceptance unto Eternal Life. Dr. *Sobnius*, Minister and Professor in the Church and University of *Montauban*, received the Thanks of the Company, for his Answer to Dr. *Piscator*, made by order of the Synod of *Gap*, and communicated in MS to the present, but was desired, for Peace-sake, to keep it by himself without publishing it as yet.

As to the Article of the *Church*, whereupon the Synod of *Gap* had made some Innovations which had given some Offence to King *James I.* it was unanimously decreed, upon *Du Plessis's* Remonstrances, to leave it such as it was formerly, without any Addition or Subtraction.

3°. This Synod, using the same Liberty as the foregoing had enjoyed, received Letters from foreign Princes, Churches and Academies; and answered them; but they went further, for, without asking the King's leave, they called one *Melvin*, whom King *James* detained Prisoner

Prisoner in *London*, for having opposed the *Henry IV.*  
 Reception of the Bishops in *Scotland*, to serve <sup>1607.</sup>  
 in the Church of *Rochel*; that Prince had pro- *Pope Paul*  
 mised him his Liberty, provided he should out *V.*  
 of hand depart the Kingdom. King *Henry*  
 was much offended at this proceeding of the  
 Synod, nevertheless, some other Affairs put a  
 stop unto this.

4°. Whereas there were Affairs of a Political  
 Nature which were to be treated of in this  
 Synod, and wherein the whole Body of the  
 Reformed were concerned, the Magistrates of  
*Rochelle* sent their Deputies, demanding to be  
 admitted, and to have a deliberative Vote in  
 the Assembly, as making a Province by them-  
 selves, especially whenever any Affairs not  
 relating to Doctrine or Discipline, should be  
 treated of. After a long Debate upon the said  
 Proposition, it was resolved that the Moderator,  
 Assessor and Scribe of the Synod should be  
 chosen only by Ministers and Elders, and that  
 the Deputies of the City of *Rochelle* should be  
 admitted and have a deliberative Vote in the  
 Synod, according to the Decree of *Chatelbe-*  
*raud*, in case other Matters besides Ecclesiasti-  
 cal came under their Consideration.

Lastly, having cast up the Accounts of *La*  
*Nouë* and *Du Cros*, the two old General De-  
 puties, and discharged them with grear Enco-  
 miums, and given the necessary Instructions to  
 the two new ones, namely, *De Villarnou*!, and  
*La Miraude*, supposing that the King would  
 accept of them; they ended their Sessions the  
 22d of *April*, having sat for above seven Weeks  
 together, the Rev. Mr. *Beraud* senior, was  
 Moderator (y). *Du*

(y) Benoit Hist. de l'Ed. de Nantes, Tom. I Liv. 9.  
 Vie de Du Plessis—Liv. II. p. 330. Mem. du Mème,  
 Tom. III. p. 170-174. Mem. de Sully, Tom. III. ch. 9.  
 & 15. Quick's Synodicon, Tom. I. p. 261—307.

Henry IV. Du Plessis was at Court all this while, where he was come for settling the Affairs of his Majesty's House of Navarra, the Lord of Calignon, Chancellor thereof, being dead in September last. He was graciously received at Fontainebleau, and lodged in the Palace; after six or seven Months stay at Court, he took his Leave of his Majesty, who told him that he was very sorry that he could not employ him as he desired, but that he knew the Reason thereof, meaning the Offence that he had given the Pope by his Writings; nevertheless, he desired him to come to Court from time to time, that he might the better be informed of his Intentions, and impart them to others; adding, that he ought to advise them to be prudent, (he meant the Reformed) and to remember that they could do or say nothing, but he was immediately informed thereof. To which Du Plessis answered, *We don't fear, SIR, that your Majesty should be informed of what we do, but rather of what we do not. Some mean People among us, who receive Pensions from your Majesty, very often do tell Tales in order to deserve it, whereby they raise Suspensions against us in your Mind, and put you out of humour against your faithfullest Servants. But let your Majesty judge what is to be believed of these Reports, by what you have seen and heard in our Assemblies for so many Years; if we never attempted any thing, if we never took any unlawful Resolution against the Kings our Prosecutors, who massacred us, how much less against you, being maintained under the Benefit of your Edicts, and enjoining Liberty of Conscience, and Security for our Estates, Lives and Honours?* (z)

In

(z) Vie de Du Plessis; Liv. ii. pag. 33r.

In the Month of *April*, the famous Quar-<sup>Henry IV.</sup>rel between the *Venetians* and Pope *Paul V.*<sup>1607.</sup> was amicably adjusted through the Mediation <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> of *France*. Cardinals of *Joyeuse* and *Du Per-* CLIX.  
*ron*, were much employed in that Negotia-<sup>Quarrel</sup>tion ; whereupon I shall not insist, that Affair <sup>between</sup> being so well known in the World ; I shall only <sup>the Vene-</sup> make two or three Observations upon some <sup>tians and</sup> Particulars. <sup>the Pope</sup>

1°. There is a very great Disagreement as <sup>terminat-</sup> to the Terms of Reconciliation, and the man-<sup>ed.</sup>ner how the Interdict was taken off, between *Thuanus* and the Author of Bishop *Bedel's* Life ; the first tells us positively, that Cardinal of *Joyeuse* absolved the *Senate*, all the Subjects and Orders of the Republick, in presence of the Doge and twenty-five Senators of the first Rank ; and he adds, that many could not see that Ceremony without fretting, wondering at their being so different from their Ancestors, who in the time of Pope *Sixtus* the IVth, after a War of two Years, could never be brought to receive Absolution. But the other says, that the Senate asserted their Right, and maintained their Laws, notwithstanding all the Pope's Threatnings ; NOR WOULD THEY SO MUCH AS ASK PARDON, OR CRAVE ABSOLUTION ; and some Pages after he says, the Senate carried the Matter with all the Dignity and Majesty that became that most Serene Republick, as to all civil Things : for THEY WOULD NOT ASK ABSOLUTION ; but the Nuncio, to save the Popes's Credit, came into the Senate-House, before the Duke was come, and crossed his Cushion, and absolved him, &c. That is quite the Reverse of what *Thuanus* affirms, upon Cardinal of *Joyeuse's* Testimony, neither doth it agree

Henry IV. with the Relation given by *Alessandro Maria*  
 1607. *Vianoli*, who says, that when Cardinal of Joy-  
 Pope Paul V. cuse came back from *Rome* to *Venice*, *il fù re-*  
 cevuto come l'Angelo della Pace, and that after  
 the Ceremony was over, every Place resounded  
 with loud Acclamations of Joy. (a)

2°. We read in Bishop *Bedell's* Life, that  
 a Passage fell out DURING THE INTERDICT;  
 &c. viz. the coming of a Jesuit to *Venice*, name-  
 ly *Thomas Maria Caraffa*, who published a  
 thousand Theses of Philosophy and Divinity,  
 which he dedicated to the Pope with this ex-  
 travagant Inscription, PAVLO V. VICE-  
 DEO, &c. Now, tho' the Matter of Fact is  
 true, yet there is three gross Mistakes in the  
 Relation: 1°. As to the Time, it was in 1608,  
 that is a Year after the Reconciliation. 2°. As  
 to the Place where they were printed, it was  
 at *Naples*, and not at *Venice*; and they were to  
 be disputed thrice, once at *Rome*, and twice at  
*Naples*. 3°. As to the Quality of the Pub-  
 lisher, he was not a Jesuit, but a *Dominican*  
*Friar*; Bishop *Bedell* styles him *of the Order*  
*of the Fryars Preachers*. See that Bishop's An-  
 swer to Mr. *Wadsworth*. (b)

3°. But there is another Event of much greater  
 Importance, which these Divisions between the  
 Republick and the Pope were very like to pro-  
 duce, had the good Inclinations of *Fra. Paolo*  
 and *Bedell's* great Abilities been countenanced  
 as they ought to have been; the truth whereof  
 I found confirmed by *Du Plessis*, though he don't  
 name the Persons who acted on this Occasion,

King

(a) Thuanus Liv. cxxxvii. pag. 1270. The Life of  
 William Bedel, D. D. p. 6. 15. *Historia Veneta* di  
*Alessandro Maria Vianoli*, Parte 2<sup>a</sup>, p. 398, 399.

(b) Bp. *Bedell's* Life, p. 11. Copies of certain Letters  
 of *Bedell*, Ch. iv. p. 365.



King *James* I. excepted, and it is as follows. Henry IV.

“ That Breach was brought very near to a <sup>1607.</sup> *Pope Paul V.*  
 “ Crisis; so that it was expected a total Sepa-  
 “ ration, not only from the Court, but from  
 “ the Church of *Rome*, was like to follow  
 “ upon it. It was set on by *P. Paolo* and the  
 “ seven Divines, with much Zeal, and was  
 “ very prudently conducted by them. In order  
 “ to the advancing of it, King *James* ordered  
 “ his Ambassador [*Sir Henry Wotton*] to offer  
 “ all possible Assistance to them, and to accuse  
 “ the Pope and the Papacy, as the chief Au-  
 “ thors of all the Mischiefs of Christendom. The  
 “ *Doge* and the Senate answered this in Words  
 “ full of Respect to King *James*, and said, That  
 “ they knew thing, were not so bad as some en-  
 “ deavoured to make the World believe, with  
 “ design to sow Discord between Christian Prin-  
 “ ces: And when the Pope’s Nuncio \* object-  
 “ ed, that King *James* was not a Catholick, and  
 “ so was not to be relied on; the *Doge* answer-  
 “ ed, that the King of *England* believed in Je-  
 “ sus Christ, but he did not know in whom some  
 “ others believed. Upon which *P. Paolo*, and  
 “ the seven Divines pressed Mr. *Bedell* to move  
 “ the Ambassador to present King *James*’s Pre-  
 “ monition to all Christian Princes and States,  
 “ then put in Latin, to the *Senate*, and they  
 “ were confident it would produce a good Effect.  
 “ But the Ambassador could not be prevailed  
 “ on to do it at that time, and pretended that  
 “ since St. *James*’s Day was not far off, it would  
 “ be more proper to do it on that day. If this  
 “ was only for the sake of a Speech that he  
 “ had made on the conceit of St. *James*’s  
 “ Day, and King *James*’s Book, with which  
 “ he had intended to present it, that was a  
 “ Weakness never to be excused; but if this

• It is a  
 Mistake,  
 the Pope  
 had no  
 Nuncio at  
 Venice du-  
 ring the  
 Quarrel;  
 it must be  
 Cardinal  
 of Joyeuse  
 before he  
 went to  
 Rome.

Henry IV. " was only a Pretence; and that there was  
 1607. " a Design under it, it was a Crime not to be  
 Pope Paul " forgiven ———. Before St. James's Day  
 V. " came, the Difference between the *Republick*  
 " and the *Pope* was made up, and that hap-  
 " py Opportunity lost; so that when the Am-  
 " bassador had his Audience on that Day, and  
 " presented the Book, he was answered, that  
 " they thanked the King of *England* for his  
 " good-will, but they were now reconciled to  
 " the Pope, and that therefore they were re-  
 " solved not to admit of any Change in their  
 " Religion, according to their Agreement with  
 " the Court of *Rome*." This I have transcri-  
 bed out of *Bedell's* Biographer.

Though, according to the noble *Italian* Au-  
 thor just now mentioned, the Senate of *Venice*  
 had by their Decree expressly forbidden, from  
 the beginning of their Quarrel, to write or  
 publish any thing against the Catholick Religion;  
 nevertheless that Prohibition had not hinder-  
 ed *Fra. Paolo*, and several other Divines of the  
 Republick, from holding frequent Conferences  
 with Dr. *Bedel*, wherein they had so much  
 improved, that a Reformation in the Church  
 had been resolved between them. This Truth  
 is confirmed by *Du Plessis's* Testimony; that  
 is to say, he confirms that the *Venetians* had  
 a mind to work out a Reformation in their  
 Church, and that King *James* had a good hand  
 in that Resolution of the Republick. Nay,  
 it appears by his Letters of the 7th of *June*  
 1607 to Mr. *Rivet*, of the 20th of *April* 1608  
 to the same, of the 5th of *February* 1609 to  
 the Rev. Mr. *De La Fontaine*, Minister of the  
*French* Church in *London*, of the 13th of *March*  
 1609 to the Rev. Mr. *Rivet*, Minister at *Tbouars*,  
 of the 27th of *March* of the same Year, to  
 the

the same, of the 4th of *April*, of the 18th, of <sup>Henry IV.</sup> the 24th of the same Month to the same, <sup>1607.</sup> of the 13th of *August* 1609 to the Rev. Dr. <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> *Tilenus* ; it appears, I say, that notwithstanding the outward Reconciliation of the Republick with the Pope, nevertheless there remained still such a strong Inclination for a Reformation, that had it been curiously entertained and fomented by those to whom it did belong, certainly it would have brought forth the desired Fruit. Again, it appears, that Father *Fulgentio*, one of Father *Paul's* Companions, preached the Truth so plainly and openly during the Lent of 1609, before a croud-  
ed Audience of the Nobility and People, that the *Pope's* Nuncio was much offended at him, bitterly complaining, *Che troppo exaltava la Gratia di Dio*, and severely threatened him ; but the said *Father* was strenuously supported by the *Doge*, and the People laughed at the Nuncio, and turned his Reproach into a Proverb, *Che troppo laudava Christo* ; meaning that *Fulgentio* was too good a Christian to be a good Papist. (c) So much I have thought proper to say about that important Quarrel.

The beginning of this Year found the Rev. <sup>1608.</sup> Mr. *Daniel Chamier* at Court, where he was <sup>CLX.</sup> arrived since the 8th of *November* last ; he had <sup>A Confe-</sup> been deputed by the Churches of *Dauphiné*, <sup>rence pro-</sup> for to thank his Majesty in their Names, for <sup>posed for</sup> the favourable Answer he had been pleased <sup>the Reunion</sup> to give Mons. *La Colombiere* upon the Affairs <sup>of the two</sup> of *Orange* ; for beseeching his Majesty to grant them the Settlement of a College at *Monte-*  

H h 3 *limar* ;

(c) Life of Wm. Bedell, &c. p. 13, 14. Mem. de Du Plessis Mornay, Tom. 3<sup>e</sup>. Ambassades & Negotiations du Card. Du Perron, Liv. 3<sup>e</sup>.

Henry IV. *limar* ; and he improved this Opportunity for  
 1608. justifying himself of several things calumni-  
 Pope Paul V. ously laid to his charge, and for clearing others  
 which had been mis-represented : Indeed the  
 King was very angry with him, he was above  
 a Fortnight before he could be admitted to  
 the Audience, and the first time he had that  
 honour, his Majesty spoke to him in a very se-  
 vere Tone ; but whereas his Royal Heart was  
 never unaccessible to Reason and Equity, he  
 was at last satisfied as to his Innocence, and  
 when he took his Leave of his Majesty, after  
 about five Months stay at Court, he had a  
 long Conference with him, which was conclud-  
 ed by the promise his Majesty made him, that  
 he would maintain the Churches in Peace,  
 and cause his Edicts to be strictly observed,  
 and desired him to assure the Churches thereof;  
 and as for his own regard, he needed but to  
 serve him well, and that for certain, he would  
 prove a good Master unto him.

During his stay at Court, they talk'd much  
 of a Conference for the Reunion of the two  
 Religions. *D'Aubigné* proposed to take for Rule  
 of Faith and Discipline, the Doctrine and Dis-  
 cipline received by the Catholick Church in  
 the four first Centuries ; so that whatever was  
 taught or practised now in the Church, should  
 be reformed by what was taught and prac-  
 tised in the Catholick Church of those Ages.  
*Chamier* and the rest of the Company agreed to  
 that Proposition ; whereupon *D'Aubigné* waited  
 upon the King, who sent him out of hand to  
 Cardinal *Du Perron* ; where, after some Com-  
 pliments exchanged between them both, the  
 Cardinal bewailing the sad Condition of the  
 Church, miserably torn by Schism, asked whe-  
 ther there was no means to heal its Diseases.  
 Where-

Whereupon *D'Aubigné* told him, *Since you desire to know my Opinion, methinks, GUICCI-ARDINE's Maxim is the best way we could follow in the Church, as well as in the State, for healing our unhappy Divisions: which is, that whenever any Society which was at first well ordered, comes to a decay, it can never be well restored, but by bringing it back to their original Constitution. So then, let us take for inviolable Laws the Constitutions settled and observed in the Catholick Church until the latter end of the fourth Century, and upon the Articles pretended to have been corrupted, you who set up yourself for our Eldest, do restore unto us the first thing which we shall demand, and of our own accord we shall restore the second; and so on, till every thing should be settled again upon the ancient footing.* To this the Cardinal replied, that the Ministers would never consent thereto; but *D'Aubigné* having given him the strongest Assurances that they would, the Cardinal said to him, at least grant us 40 Years more besides the 400. *Well, saith D'Aubigné, I see that you will have the Council of Calcedon; with all my heart, you shall have it, do but put us to work.* The Cardinal having subscribed to the General Proposition, told him, you shall be obliged, by your Concession, to consent to the lifting up of the Crosses which was received in the Church of that Age, (from 400 to 450.) *Well, saith D'Aubigné, for Peace-sake we shall do the Crosses the like honour as they did at that time; but would you consent on your side to bring the Pope's Authority upon the same footing as it was at that time, during the first four Centuries? Nay, to please you we shall go so far as the seventh; whereto the Cardinal answered, that that Af-*

Henry IV.  
1608.  
Pope Paul  
V.

Henry IV. fair was to be concluded at *Paris*, and not at  
 1565  
 Rome. (d)

1565  
 Paris  
 V.

The King seemed at this time fully resolved to hold a National Council in *France* upon these Matters; he told the Rev. Mr. *Chamier*, that he desired the Assistance of all his good Subjects, and especially his own: but I can't tell for what, nor in whom the fault was, that all that great Buffle came to nothing.

CLXI.  
 The Duke  
 of Salty  
 is  
 changed

Another Affair of great Moment, the Issue whereof redounded much to the Duke of *Salty's* Honour, made a great Noise at Court, and caused great uneasiness to the Reformed at this very time, and is as follows. The King had it put into his Head, to engage the Duke of *Salty*, or at least his Son, to turn Roman Catholic; for which end, he allured him with the Promise of the Constable's Staff, (the Constable *Montmorency* was then very old) and the Offer of marrying his Son with *Mademoiselle De Vendôme*, his own Natural Daughter. The Reformed were much alarmed at that News, whereto they gave so much the more Credit, that the Duke's Religion was much questioned among them, for he very freely received and conversed with Priests and Monks, every Year he spent great Sums of Money in repairing their Churches, Hospitals and Convents; he kept Correspondence with Pope *Paul V.* who had conceived great hopes of his Change, and several Copies of the second Letter he had received of him, had been seen every where over the Kingdom; so that every one expected, that he would certainly prefer the Worldly before the

(d) Journal du Voyage de Mr. *Chamier* à Paris in 1607, en Manuscript. Vie du Sieur D'Aubigné dans les Avant. du Baron de Foëcette, Tom. i.

the Celestial Glory, his own Temporal Concerns before the Spiritual. It was much rumoured, that a Conference should be held between the Ministers of *Charenton*, and some Catholick Divines upon that account; and *Du Plessis*, who knew by experience, what was the main Design of such Conferences, wrote to a Friend at *Paris*, and sent him a Scheme how to proceed therein, if that Conference could not be avoided. But his Trouble was needless, the Duke, to the great surprize of every one, overlook'd for this time his Temporal Concerns, he stood his ground, and answered *Villeroy*, whom the King had sent to insist with him upon his Change, with a fuller Assurance of whatever had been promised him; that he would be always a most humble Servant to the King, but that whenever his own Religion would be an hindrance to his Majesty's Service, he was ready to resign all his Employments, and to retire to his own Country-House. Cardinal *Du Perron* was likewise sent to him upon the same Errand, who told him, that he wondered at him, seeing that for some Opinions sake he chose to ruin his own Fortune and the King's Service. To which he returned this Answer, Sir, I have endeavoured long ago to persuade myself to turn Catholick, but I could never prevail with myself to do it, unless you would show me a new Bible unheard of before, wherein the Tenets of your Church should be plainly taught: for I found so many things in these Tenets, not only different, but quite contrary to the Laws, Ordinances and Constitutions of the Christian Religion, taught in the Holy Bible, that I cannot believe them to have been inspired by one and the same Spirit. If the

Debate

Henry IV.  
1608.  
Pope Paul  
V.

Henry IV. Debate was only about Points of Speculation,  
 1608. I know that they may be susceptible of different  
 Pope Paul Meaning ; but I consider only those Articles  
 V. which are the plainest, which are either ex-  
 pressly commanded or expressly forbidden, and  
 the meaning whereof cannot be any other but  
 what is obvious to every Man's Understand-  
 ing ; such as the Invocation of Saints, the  
 Worship of Images, the forbidding of Marriage  
 to Priests, of the Use of certain Meats, Divine  
 Service in an unknown Tongue, the Retrench-  
 ing of the Cup in the Holy Supper, &c. For  
 though some of these Tenets might be of a  
 very ancient Date ; nevertheless, Jesus Christ  
 and his Apostles being still more ancient, their  
 Doctrine is, by all means, to be preferred to  
 all others, &c. So that he would persevere in  
 his own Religion, until they had reformed  
 their own according to the Word of God. As  
 to his Son, he had already told his Majesty,  
 that as he would not deter him from changing,  
 so he would do nothing to encourage him to  
 do it (e). This is the true and genuine Ac-  
 count of that Affair ; upon which the far-  
 fetched Reflections of the Historian of the  
 Edict of *Nantz* appear to me very odd.

CLXII. About the same time, or a few Weeks after,  
*Some Com-* there happened some Commotions in *Poitou*  
*motions in* and some adjacent Provinces, wherein some  
*Poitou,* ten or twelve Country 'Squires of the Reformed  
*&c.* Religion, with a few Soldiers, were engaged.  
 They attempted to seize upon some few paltry  
 Towns without Success ; the Mischief was ex-  
 ceedingly magnified in the King's Council, just

28

(e) The same Manuscript of the Rev. Mr. *Chamier*.  
*Memoires de Du Plessis*, Tom. 3. *Mem. de Sully*, Tom. 3.  
 ch. 21.



as if the whole Body of the Reformed had took up Arms on a sudden, and his Majesty seemed resolved to march in Person ; but upon the Duke of Sully's Remonstrances, one Provost with twenty Archers only were sent after them, who took all those that stood accused, some of the guiltiest were executed, some others pardoned, and others honourably acquitted. It is utterly false that the Duke of *Bouillon*, the Lord *Du Plessis*, or any other Lord of credit amongst the Reformed had any hand therein (f).

Henry IV.  
1608.  
Pope Paul  
V.



The King having granted his Warrant to the Reformed for holding a Political Assembly at *Gergeau*, in *October* following, they met accordingly by their Representatives ; the Duke of Sully was sent there by the King as his Commissary. Though they were to treat only about their general Deputies ; nevertheless, they took into their Consideration some Infringements of the Edict, especially concerning the cautionary Towns. Some of them belonging to Catholick Lords, or being fallen into their hands by Succession or otherwise ; some of these Lords had put Catholick Governors in them, which was quite contrary to an Article of the Edict. The Reformed had already lost, after that manner, *Caumont*, *Tartas* and *Montandre*, and were like to lose several others, if no Provisions were made against such Infractions, especially because Conversions were then much in fashion, and that several Lords had very little Zeal and Regard for their Religion. The Duke of Sully wrote to the King, and to *Villeroy*, upon that Subject, and proposed two Expedients for giving

CLXIII.  
*A Political  
Assembly at  
Gergeau.*

(f) *Memoires de Du Plessis*, Tom. 3. His Letter to the Rev. Mr. *Rivet*, of the 10th of *August* 1608. *Mem. de Sully*, Tom. 3. ch. 21.

Henry IV. ing them Satisfaction, either to put Reformed  
 1608. Governors in Places of that kind, being Friends  
 Pope Paul V. or Relations to the Lords whom they belong'd  
 to; or to engage them to insert these Articles  
 in their Bill of Grievances, to be tendered to  
 his Majesty by their General Deputies, upon  
 promise of being redressed according to the  
 Edict. The King took the last Expedient, be-  
 cause he was resolved not to treat about any  
 thing with the Assembly, and to oblige them  
 to keep themselves in the Bounds prescribed  
 them by him; to wit, to nominate six Persons,  
 out of whom, the King should pick two to  
 be their General Deputies; however, his An-  
 swer to the Duke, was very obliging for the  
 Reformed, he assured them of his Protection,  
 and acknowledged that they had deserved it  
 by their steady Adherence to his Service.

The Assembly submitted to the King's Will,  
 and nominated six Persons, *Villarnoul* and *Mi-  
 rande* were of the Number, and the King  
 chose them, shewing thereby that his Refusal  
 of them when they had been presented to him  
 by the Synod of *Rockelle*, proceeded not from  
 any dislike of their Persons, but from the dislike  
 of the manner of their Election (g).

CLXIV. About the same time was held an Assembly  
*Assembly of* of the Clergy at *Paris*; they insisted as warmly  
*the Clergy* as ever with the King, for the Reception of the  
*at Paris.* Council of *Trent*, but his Majesty answered them  
 too with more Resolution than ever, that what  
 they asked could not be done; and upon their  
 urging the Promise made in his Name about it  
 by his Proxies at his Reconciliation with the  
 Pope, he flatly disowned them, as having  
 acted without his Knowledge and Consent.  
 The King put agreeably the Change upon the  
 Clergy

(g) Mem. de Sully, Tom. 3. ch. 23, 24.

Clergy in another Affair. They solicited him <sup>Henry IV.</sup> to settle a Fund out of which Pensions might <sup>1608.</sup> be given to the Ministers who should renounce <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> their Religion; they did not question in the least, but that the said Ministers, having but very small Salaries, would be glad to better their Condition by their Apostacy. But the King not willing that such a Fund should be taken out of his Exchequer, procured a Brief from the Pope to the Clergy, desiring them to find that Fund out of their own Revenue. The Brief was presented to the Assembly by Cardinal of Joyeuse. In consequence thereof, they made a Fund of thirty thousand Livres a Year, out of which the Ministers and Professors only, who should turn Catholics, were to receive their Pensions; but how inconsiderable soever that Sum was, they never made a sufficient number of Conquests to exhaust it; the best part thereof has been made use of for the support of certain Missionaries Laymen, who have troubled the Reformed in thousand ways, in the following Years.

There were this Year great Rejoicings at <sup>1609.</sup> Court, occasioned by the Marriage of *Henry*, <sup>CLXV.</sup> Prince of *Condé*, with *Charlotta Margaret*, <sup>Marriages</sup> Daughter of the Constable of *Montmorancy*, <sup>at Court.</sup> consummated in *March*, and that of *Cæsar of Vendome*, Natural Son to the King by the fair *Gabrielle of Estrées*, late Duchess of *Beaufort*, with the Heiress of the late Duke of *Merceur*, accomplished in *July*, to the great Joy of the King. The transcending Beauty of the Princess of *Condé*, occasioned great Troubles at Court, the King took more Notice of her than was necessary, and the Prince her Consort, dreading the Consequences of that new Inclination, engaged the Princess to quit the Court and  
the

Henry IV. OF THE ANTICHRIST, which was ordered to  
 1609. be perused by the Academy of *Saumur*, and  
 Pope. Paul being approved by them, to be printed with  
 V. the Author's Name. (b)

CLXIX. Marshal *D'Ornano* being dead this Year, un-  
*The Mar-* der the Operation of the Stone, the King of  
*shal's Staff* his own accord gave his Staff to the Lord of  
*bestowed* *Les Diguieres*, who was sent for to Court for  
*upon the* that purpose ; and indeed, if we consider his  
*Lord of Les* great Capacity, and military Atchievements,  
*Diguieres.* the great Services he had done the Crown,  
 and especially to the King, while he was Prince,  
 and then King of *Navarre*, and since he was  
 upon the Throne of *France*, for almost 50  
 Years together, no Man deserved better such  
 an honourable Reward than he ; so was he re-  
 ceived by the King, when he arrived at Court  
 on the 29th of *August*, with very distinguish-  
 ing Marks of Esteem and Affection. During  
 his stay at Court, his Majesty imparted unto  
 him his great Designs, for which he was mak-  
 ing such vast Preparations, and which he was  
 upon the point to execute, when he was pre-  
 vented by RAVAILLAC, as we shall say pre-  
 sently. As the Marshal was ready to set out  
 on his return into *Dauphiné*, the King sent for  
 the Princes his Sons, and told him, *Sir, There*  
*are my Children, to whom I desire you to be*  
*instead of a Father, after my decease, for I shall*  
*leave them young, and standing in need of my*  
*good Servants.* To which the Marshal hav-  
 ing replied, that his Majesty ought to enter-  
 tain better Hopes, and that he would see them  
 in an Age fit to govern by themselves: No,  
*Sir, saith the King, be sure that you shall live*  
*longer*

(b) Quick's Synodicon, Tom. i.

(j) Videl. Hist. de Les Diguieres, Liv. vii. ch. 12.

*longer than I*; as if he had had a Prognostick of his approaching Death, for the Marshal was then above 65. (j)

Henry IV.  
1609.  
Pope Paul  
V.

About this very time of *Les Diguieres's* Promotion, happened the second Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* from *Spain*. The most powerful Promoter thereof was *Don Bernardo de Roi-* as y *Sandoval*, Cardinal Archbishop of *Toledo*, and Inquisitor General, and Chancellor of *Spain*. This Prelate, who was Brother to the Duke of *Lerma*, by whom King *Philip III.* for some Years before and for some Years after the Expulsion, was absolutely governed; was so zealous to have the whole Race of the *Moriscoes* extinguished, that he opposed the detaining of their Children that were under seven Years of Age; affirming, that of the two, he judged it more advisable to cut the Throats of all the *Moriscoes*, Men, Women, and Children, than to have any of their Children left in *Spain*, to defile the true *Spanish* Blood; with a mixture of the *Moorish*.

CLXX.  
The Expul-  
sion of the  
Moriscoes  
from Spain.

I shall not enlarge myself upon a Subject; which has been so fully and accurately treated by the Learned Chancellor of *Sarum*, any further than for observing,

1<sup>o</sup>. That this most inhuman Act began in the Kingdom of *Valencia* in the Month of *September* 1609, without the least Provocation, and notwithstanding the warmest Representations of the States of that Kingdom, the Clergy excepted; for the Archbishop of that City was so unjust and cruel, as to postpone the publick Good to his own private Interest, and wickedly abused the King's Simplicity, forging of Visions, Apparitions and Miracles; which, as he pretended, were so many Calls of God upon the King to perpetrate that heinous Act.

VOL. IV.

I 1

2<sup>o</sup>. That

(j) Videt, Hist. de Les Diguieres, Liv. vii. ch. 12.

Henry IV. 2°. That having, one may say, depopulated  
 1609.  
 Pope Paul the Kingdom of *Valencia*, they went on to do  
 V. the like in the Kingdoms of *Granada*, *Mur-*  
 cia, and *Seville*, *Arragon*, *Old and New Castile*,  
*Estremadura*, and *Mancha*. So in the latter  
 End of *July*, 1610, they were expelled out of  
*Old Spain*, to the Number of six hundred  
 thousand People, Men, Women, and Children,  
 besides the *Siain*, and some that were detained,  
 according to the most modest Computation;  
 for some raise their Number to a Million. This  
 great Loss of People falling upon a Country  
 that was far from being over-stock'd with Peo-  
 ple before, (which in truth no Nation can  
 be) and which, besides those that were ex-  
 pelled, had few that were industrious, or that  
 were skilled in most of her profitable Manu-  
 factures, it was such a fatal Blow to *Spain*,  
 that she has not to this day, nor is ever like  
 to recover of it, and must be a Warning to all  
 Princes and Magistrates, not to suffer them-  
 selves to be imposed upon by the sottish Bi-  
 gottry of Men who pretend to Religion.

3°. The Historian of the Edict of *Nantz*,  
 says, that those Wretches offered to submit  
 to the King of *France*, if the King would  
 take them under his Protection; but by what  
 Dr. *Geddes* saith, we may boldly affirm, that  
 that is not true: they were so far from offer-  
 ing themselves to the King of *France*, that  
 they did not care to make use of the liberty  
 granted them by the King of *Spain*, to re-  
 tire into *France*. *Benoit* adds, that King  
*Henry* sent them a Gentleman of the Reformed  
 Profession, namely *Panissaut*, to see what might  
 be expected from their Offer; that he ne-  
 gotiated with so much Success, that some  
 considerable Advantage might have been ex-

pected by it, had he been suffered to go on: Henry IV. But the Bigots told the King, That he in-<sup>1609.</sup>spired them with the Doctrine of the Re-*Pope Paul V.*formed, which might be true, and would certainly have been of great use, that Doctrine being better relished by the *Mabometans* than the *Roman Catholick*, the Worship whereof they look'd upon as grossly idolatrous, to adore what one eats. However, *Panissaut* was recalled, and a Roman Catholick sent in his stead, who proceeding upon other Principles, his Negociation had no success. This I relate upon the Rev. Mr. *Benoit's* Authority, and no further, for want of a more proper Evidence to support his own. (k)

Now, we are come to the last Year, of the glorious Reign of our GREAT and GOOD King <sup>1610</sup>*Henry IV.* a Year, in this respect, never to be remembered without Horror and Detestation. After the Peace of *Vervins*, his Majesty thought seriously of reducing the House of *Austria* into its just Bounds, and to settle a Balance in *Europe*. Whether that Thought had been suggested unto him by Queen *Elizabeth*, as well as the Means of putting such a Scheme in execution, or whether it was one of his own Conceptions, we cannot positively affirm. It is certain, as we have said in its proper place, that that Great Queen desired earnestly to confer with his Majesty upon some very great Enterprize; the Place of the Conference had been appointed; the King was come as far as *Calais*, when on a sudden he was persuaded, upon some punctilio to return, on pretence to be present at the Birth of the *Dauphin*;

I i 2

but

(k) Geddes Miscell. Tracts, Vol. I. Tract. i. Mezeray 3<sup>e</sup>. Part. Tom. vi. Benoit Hist. de l'Ed. de Nantes, Tom. i. Liv. ix.

Henry IV. but the Duke of Sully was come over, incog-  
 1610. nito, to *England* by his Order, and had several  
 Pope Paul private Conferences with her Majesty, who  
 V. approved of and applauded that Scheme; which  
 was summarily as follows.

*His  
 Scheme.*

He desired to reunite so perfectly the whole *Christendom*, that it should form but one Body, to be known under the Name of the **CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH**. He intended to divide it into fifteen States, which should have been, as much as conveniently it could be, of equal Force and Power, and the Boundaries thereof be so well specified by the unanimous Consent of the 15th, that no Incroachment of one upon another could be feared. These 15 Powers ought to be the *Popedom*, the *German Empire*, *France*, *Spain*, *Great-Britain*, *Hungary*, *Bobemia*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Savoy* or the Kingdom of *Lombardy*, *Venice*, the *Republick of Italy*, composed of the small Potentates and Cities of the Country, the *Belgæ* or the *Low Countries*, and the *Switzers*. Five of these States were to be successive, viz. *France*, *Spain*, *Great-Britain*, *Sweden*, and *Lombardy*. Six Elective, the *Empire*, *Popedom*, *Hungary*, *Bobemia*, *Poland*, and *Denmark*. Four Republicks, two whereof were to be Democratical, viz. the *Low-Countries*, and *Switzerland*; and two Aristocratical, viz. *Venice*, and that of the petty Princes and Cities of *Italy*.

The *Pope*, besides what he possessed already, was to have the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Island of *Sicily*, as well as the Republick of *Italy*, were to be his Homagers.

The *Venetians* were to have *Sicily*, paying Homage to the *Holy See*, but without any other



other *Redevance*, besides a kissing of the Pope's Feet, and a Golden Crucifix every twenty Years.

The *Republick of Italy* was to be composed of the States of *Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Mantua, Parma, Modena, Monaco*, and other petty Principalities and Lordships, and were likewise to hold of the *Holy See*; to whom, however, they were to pay no other *Redevance*, but a Golden Crucifix of 10,000 Livres Value.

Henry IV.  
1610.  
Pope Paul  
V.

The Duke of *Savoy* was to have the *Milanese* for his Share, which, together with his other Countries and Demain, was to be erected by the Pope into a Kingdom, namely *Lombardy*, out of which the *Cremonese* should have been subtracted for the *Monferrat*, which was to be yielded unto him.

*Free-County, Alsatia, the Tirolese, the Country of Trent*, with their Dependances, were to be given to the *Helvetians*, to form their Republick; and they were to pay a Fee-Simple to the *German Empire*, every twenty-fifth Year only.

The seventeen Provinces of the *Low Countries* were to be strengthened and increased by the Accession and Addition of the Duchies of *Cleves, Juliers, Bergben, and La Mark, of Ravensstein*, and other small Lordships, upon the like Condition as the *Helvetians*.

*Transylvania, Moldavia, Valachia*, were to be added to the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

The Emperor (*Rodolpb II.* sat then upon the Imperial Throne) was to be obliged to renounce the aggrandising of himself or his Family, or Relations, by the means of any forfeited Estate, Disinheritance, or Reversion of Male Fiefs; but he could dispose of the vacant Fiefs in behalf of any other Person, not related to him, by the Advice of the Electors and Princes

Henry IV. of the Empire. It was likewise to be agreed,  
 1610.  
 Pope Paul V. that for the future, the Imperial Crown should  
 never devolve consecutively upon two Princes  
 of the same House, lest it should perpetuate  
 it self in it, as it had happened in that of  
*Austria*.

The Kings of *Hungary* and *Bobemia* were to be elected at the Majority of Votes of seven Electors, to wit, 1. The Nobility, Clergy, and Commoners of each respective Kingdom. 2. The Pope. 3. The Emperor. 4. The King of *France*. 5. The King of *Spain*. 6. The King of *Great Britain*. 7. The Kings of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*; all these three together making but one Vote.

Besides that, they were to establish in some City in the Center of *Europe*, or as near as possible, such as *Metz*, *Nancy*, or *Cologne*, a General Council composed of sixty Members, four for each State, which was to take cognizance of, and decide every thing; and six others Inferiours, settled in different Places, and composed of 20 Members each, all depending on the General, to which they were to resort when requisite.

By the means of that General Council, they intended to prevent Tyranny and Oppression in the Sovereigns, and Sedition and Rebellion in the People. As also to provide for the Preservation of the States bordering upon the Frontiers of the Infidels.

Then when all these States should have been firmly settled and regulated, they were to attack the Infidels with their joint Forces; every State, by the common Consent of the whole Body, was to be assessed at so much for its Contingent, their Army joined together was to be two hundred and twenty thousand Foot,  
 and

and fifty three thousand Horse, 217 Cannons, Henry IV.  
and all the rest in proportion ; with an hundred <sup>1610.</sup>  
and seventeen Men of War and Gallies, of the <sup>Pope Paul</sup>  
first and second Rate, besides those of a lesser <sup>V.</sup>  
Size, Fire-Ships, &c.

Now, as to Religion, three only were to be tolerated in *Europe*, the Roman Catholick, the Protestant, and the Reformed; but in such a manner, that if any of these three Religions was predominant in any of the fifteen States, all the Subjects of that State were to submit themselves to that Religion, or to leave the Country after a Year and a Day notice given unto them, to dispose of their Estates, Goods, and their other Effects, unless the Number of these Non-Conformists should be so great as to give occasion to fear some great Commotions in that State, upon that account ; in which Case, the said State was obliged to refer the whole Matter to the Decision of the General Council ; and in the mean time to forbear all violent Methods, and forcible Means against the said Non-Conformists. As to the *Pope*, the Protestant and Reformed Powers were to consider him only as a Temporal Prince, and to deal with him in that Quality, without any hatred or jealousy, as with the first Potentate of *Europe*.

Such were the Designs of *Henry IV.* how far they were solid and practicable, considering the various Humours and Interests of the several Nations that were to enter into this Association, and the Age of that Prince, who was then in the 57th Year of his Age, I leave it to the Reader to determine. The King judging of others by himself, did not question but all the *Princes of Europe* would sincerely jump in a Design as great and honourable as it was

Henry IV. useful to the whole Christendom. I cannot  
 1610. tell whether he could foresee all the Diff-  
 Pope Paul V. culties which might be met with in the Exe-  
 cution, and put an insuperable Obstacle to the  
 Success thereof; at least, it is certain, that he  
 had very wisely provided against those which  
 he had foreseen.

By what we have said, it is plain, that his  
 Scheme would be very advantageous to all the  
 Christian Princes of *Europe*, the House of *Aus-*  
*tria* excepted, which was to be stript of most  
 part of the Countries she had usurped at se-  
 veral times from others, to restore them to  
 their Natural Lords, or to be otherwise dispo-  
 sed of; but it was resolved to engage that House  
 to adhere freely to this Design, or to force her  
 to do it.

*The Means* For compassing his Ends, the King, after  
*he employ'd* the Peace of *Vervins*, endeavoured to set-  
*to execute* tle in his own Kingdom a solid and lasting  
*it* Tranquillity, and thought it necessary to chuse  
 some Persons conspicuous for their great Fi-  
 delity and Capacity for examining the Nature  
 of his Revenues, and how they might be bet-  
 tered, and to take himself cognizance of his  
 own Affairs, that he might be enabled to dis-  
 cern the good from the bad Counsels, the En-  
 terprizes practicable from the unpracticable, those  
 which did not exceed his Means, from those that  
 went beyond; for he held as a Maxim, *That*  
*the Expences that go beyond a Prince's Revenue,*  
*draw upon him the Curses of the People, which*  
*are usually attended with God's.*

Therefore in order to execute this, he grant-  
 ed the *Reformed* the Edict of *Nantz*, to the  
 end that the two Religions might subsist peace-  
 ably together. Then he settled a certain Or-  
 der for discharging his own and the Kingdom's  
 Debts.

Debts. In the Year 1607, it appeared, that since Henry IV. the Peace of *Vervins*, he had already discharged 87 Millions of Livres. 1610. Pope Paul V.

Then he went on to engage all the Christian Potentates in his great Design, offering to give them all the Advantages wherewith their Success should be attended, reserving only to himself the Glory of having contributed towards it.

He endeavoured to compose amicably all Differences between the Christian Princes as soon as they came to his knowledge. He began to make his Friends and Allies, all those States which he knew stood well affected with *France*, and were the least opposed to its Interest, such as the *United-Provinces*, *Venetians*, *Switzers*, and *Grisons*; he tampered likewise with the Crowns of *England*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*. He did the same with the Electors, Imperial States and Cities; then he endeavoured to sift out the Inclinations of the Nobility of *Bobemia*, *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, and *Poland*. The Duke of *Savoy* entered into that Alliance, being sure to obtain the King's eldest Daughter for his Son *Victor-Amadeus*; the Duke of *Bavaria* being promised the Imperial Crown, after *Rodolph's* Death, was to exert himself with all his Might, and the *Pope* approving of the Design, was to support it powerfully.

As to himself, for several Years together, His Preparations the King had made Preparations suitable to the greatness of his Designs. All his Magazines were well stored with Arms and Ammunitions of all sorts; he had in his Arsenal of *Paris*, above 100 Cannons with all their Furnitures and Implements, and other Arms and Ammunitions in proportion: and whereas Money is the Sinew of all Undertakings, his Exchequer

Henry IV. chequer, thro' the Care and good OEconomy  
 1610. of his Super-Intendant, was plentifully pro-  
 Pope Paul V. vided with it; he had in ready Cash (all his  
 Troops being paid for three Months, all his  
 Places and Magazines well stored, his Cap-  
 tains gratified with many fine Gifts he had  
 bestowed upon them for Encouragement) thirty six Millions six hundred seventy eight thousand five hundred Livres; Item, twenty seven Millions for the current Year, and besides that, his Super-Intendant gave him Security for forty Millions a Year extraordinary, for three Years together: so that he was in a Condition to wage War for five Years together, without vexing his Subjects with any new Impost. But he intended to carry it on so briskly and vigorously, that he might soon put an end to it; for he held it as a Maxim, *That a wise and prudent Prince, when he is obliged to wage War, must do it brisk and short, and on a sudden surprize his Enemy by formidable Preparations and quick Executions, because in such Occasions, to spend much is a saving.*

*He is ready to begin to execute it.*

He waited only for an Opportunity to exert himself, for it was agreed with his Allies, that he should not begin unless he had some Pretence or other to take the Field. Now the Succession of *Bergues* and *Juliers*, afforded him what he sought for.

*John-William* Duke of *Juliers*, *Cleves* and *Bergues*, Count of *La Mark* and *Ravensburgb*, Son to *William*, by *Mary* of *Austria* his Consort, Sister of the Emperor *Charles V.* and Grandson to *John* Duke of *Juliers*, &c. being dead without Issue on the 25th of *March* 1609; his Succession put all the neighbouring States in motion, not only the Issue of his four Sisters, but the Duke of *Saxony*, as descending

descending from an eldest Daughter of Duke Henry IV. John, Grandfather of the late Duke John-William. The Duke of *Nevers* pretended likewise to the Dutchy of *Cleves*, as bearing alone the Name, and quartering alone the Arms of that Duchy. For the same reason the Count of *Maulevrier* demanded the County of *La Mark*, as being the eldest of that House, and in that quality he pretended a Right to the *Duchy of Bouillon*, and the Principality of *Sedan*. But the Emperor insisting upon this, viz. that these Countries were Male-Fiefs, the Pretensions of these Candidates were all ill-grounded, and consequently that these Fiefs were devolved to the Empire for want of Male-Issue; he secretly invested therewith *Leopold of Austria*, Bishop of *Straßbourg*, and sent him with an Army to seize upon them.

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But the Marquisses of *Brandebourg* and *Newbourg*, whose Rights were less disputable, resolving to expel him, besought the Assistance of their Friends and Allies, and especially the King's, to whom they deputed the Prince of *Anbalt*, with Letters from the Elector *Palatine* and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, assuring his Majesty, that his Arms could not be more just, and would certainly be attended with a glorious Success. That Prince was very graciously received, and his Propositions very gladly accepted of, as by one who longed after such a favourable Overture for beginning the Execution of a Design premeditated for so long time before.

During all the Winter he prepared every thing for that Expedition, which was but a Covert for a greater one; and whereas he was resolved to command himself his Army, he settled such a good Order for the Government  
of

Henry IV. of his Kingdom during his Absence, that his  
 1610. People could not receive any Prejudice there-  
 Pope Paul by. The Queen his Consort was to be Regent  
 V. of the Kingdom, but her Power was so far  
 limited, that she could do nothing without  
 the Advice and Consent of a Council compo-  
 sed of fifteen Members; and he was to esta-  
 blish another Council composed of five Per-  
 sons in every Province of the Kingdom,  
 which would have resorted to the great one,  
 wherein every thing was to be decided by  
 the Plurality of Votes, the Queen having but  
 her own, and they could not resolve any thing  
 but according to the general Instructions, which  
 he had drawn himself; and in Cases wherein  
 his Instructions should not be full enough, they  
 were to send for his Advice and Will.

*His March  
deferred.*

While he was busied upon these Regula-  
 tions, some People, and especially *Concbini*, and  
*Galigai* his Wife, put into the Queen's head,  
 to be crowned before he set out. The King  
 was vexed at this Fancy, for several Reasons;  
 1°. Because that Ceremony would take up  
 much time. 2°. Because it would cost a great  
 deal of Money. 3°. Because the Queen's Au-  
 thority would be increased thereby. He was  
 extremely impatient to be out of *Paris*. I  
 don't know what secret Foresight he had,  
 which made him uneasy under the Apprehen-  
 sion of some fatal Blow; however, he could  
 not refuse that Token of his Affection to the  
 Queen, who so earnestly desired it.

She was crowned at *St. Denis*, on the 13th  
 of *May*, and on the 16th she was to make her  
 publick Entry at *Paris*,

The King's Troops had already repaired  
 to their Rendezvous upon the Frontiers of  
*Champaign*; the Duke of *Roban* was ready to set



set out to receive the 6000 *Switzers* that were Henry IV. to join the Army, and fifty Cannons with all their Furniture were already out of the Ar-<sup>1610.</sup> *Pope Paul V.*senal in order to be carried to the Camp : every Hour of Delay was a Year for the King, so much he long'd to be upon his Journey.

There had been at *Paris*, for two Years together, a certain Villain, namely FRANCIS RAVAILLAC, a Man of the meanest Extraction, born in *Angoumois* ; he had been formerly a Monk, then having forsaken the Monkly Order before he was professed, he had kept a School ; then he set up himself for a Solicitor, and came to *Paris*. It is uncertain whether he came on purpose to perpetrate this Devilish Action, or if being come upon some other account, he was induced to this execrable Attempt by People who knowing that he preserved still some Relicks of the League, and the Notion that the King was going to overthrow the Catholick Religion in *Germany*, judged him fit for that desperate Action.

If 'tis asked, Who were the Devils or Furies that inspired this Wretch ? We can't be positive as to that. But we know with as great a Certainty as any thing can be in History, 1°. That from many Places the King had received Advice, that there was a Plot against his Life. 2°. That the Rumour of his Death was published in Print in *Spain* and at *Milan*, before it happened. 3°. That eight Days before the fatal Blow, a Courier passed thro' *Liege*, who said that he brought News to the Princes of *Germany*, that the King had been murdered. 4°. That on the 19th of *October*, the Year before, the Lord *Du Plessis* received Notice from a Gentleman, that a large Book had been discovered at *La Fleche*, kept by  
one

Henry IV. one *Medor*, Tutor to some young Gentlemen  
 1610. belonging to the College of the *Jesuits* in that  
*Pope Paul* Place, which Book contained a formal Promise,  
 V. with Oath blindly to obey the Pope's Orders  
 whatever they be, and several Hundreds of  
 Subscriptions; it was written partly with Ink,  
 and partly with Blood; the Names of the Sub-  
 scribers were mostly written with Blood. The  
 said Book had been discovered by chance in  
*Medor's* Chamber, and was transferred imme-  
 diately after from the House where he lodged  
 to *Du Cros's*, a Native of *Auvergne*, Member  
 of the Society of *Jesuits*, who formerly be-  
 longed to the Duke of *Merceur*, and who  
 lived then near *St. Germain's* Gate at *La Fleche*.  
*Du Plessis* sent his Information to the Duke of  
*Sully*, who made all Search possible, but un-  
 luckily he mistook *St. Germain's* Gate of *Paris*  
 for that of *La Fleche*, where he did not send.

*He is mur-  
 dered.*

Now to come to the Execution of this hor-  
 rid Plot. The 14th of *May* the King came  
 out of the *Louvre*, about Four of the Clock  
 in the Afternoon, in order to go into the City,  
 he sat in the Back-side of his Coach, with the  
 Duke of *Espernon* on his Side; the Duke of  
*Montbazon*, and five other Lords, sat in the  
 Fore-part. His Coach coming from *St. Honoré-  
 street* into *la Ferronnerie's* was stopt by two  
 Carts, one loaded with Wine, the other with  
 Hay, which incumbered the Way, the Street  
 being very narrow; his Footmen for avoiding  
 the Incumbrance, had passed under the Charnels  
 of *St. Innocent*, so that no body standing by the  
 Coach the Villain, who for several Weeks before,  
 had obstinately followed the King, took this  
 opportunity for executing his damnable Plot.  
 He took notice of the side where his Majesty  
 sat, slipped on that side between the Shops and  
 the

the Coach, and putting his Foot upon one <sup>Henry VI.</sup> Spoke of the Wheel, with an enraged fierce- <sup>1610.</sup> ness smote the King with a long Knife, be- <sup>Pop<sup>e</sup> Paul V.</sup> tween the second and third Rib. At this Blow the King cried, *I am wounded*; but the Wretch without being frightened, repeated his Stroke, and this time hit him just at the Heart, whereof the King died upon the Spot; the Villain was still repeating, but the Stroke was lost in the Duke of *Montbazon's* Sleeve. He was so confoundedly desperate, that he did not care either to fly or to hide his Knife; but he stood in the place, and was taken without the least Resistance.

The King being dead, the Duke of *Espernon* ordered the Coach to go back to the *Louvre*, where the Corpse was opened in the presence of 26 Physicians and Surgeons, and all his Parts were found so wholesome, that according to the Course of Nature, he might have lived 30 Years longer. His Bowels were instantly carried and buried at *St. Denis* without any Pomp or Ceremony; his Heart was given to the *Jesuits*, who carried it into their Church at *La Fleche*; and his Corpse being embalmed, was put in a Leaden Coffin, and this in a Wooden one, covered with a Golden Cloth, and remained under a Canopy in his Bedchamber, where Mass was said for eighteen Days together, over two Altars erected for that purpose; and then it was brought and deposited in *St. Denis's* Church. (1).

So died *Henry IV.* in the middle of the 57th Year of his Age, in the 38th Year of <sup>His Cha-  
racter.</sup> his

(1) *Memoires de Sully*, Tom. III. from pag. 360 to 481. *Vie de Du Pleffis*, Liv. ii. pag. 337. *Memoires de Du Pleffis*, Tom. III<sup>e</sup>. pag. 206. *Prefixe Hist. de Henry le Grand* 3<sup>e</sup> partie.

Henry IV. his Reign of *Navarre*, and in the 21<sup>st</sup> of that  
 1610. of *France*. With him died the PROTECTOR  
 Pope Paul V. of the *Reformed*, the RESTORER of *France*,  
 the FATHER of his People, the PATTERN  
 of all royal, political and military Virtues, the  
 DREAD of *Spain* and her Adherents, the DE-  
 LIGHT of his Friends and Allies, the WON-  
 DER of the World. As his glorious Feats in  
 time of War proclaimed him the greatest, so  
 his Cares in time of Peace; for procuring the  
 Wealth and Welfare of his Subjects; proclaim-  
 ed him the best of Kings. He was no less  
 conspicuous for his Affability and Clemency,  
 than for his Strictness to his Word and Pro-  
 mises, being used to say, *that if Veracity and*  
*Fidelity* was lost in the World, it ought to be  
 sought for out of a King's Mouth. He loved  
 extremely his Nobility, and took it as a great  
 Honour to style himself the Head of that  
 illustrious Body. He loved so perfectly well  
 his People, that he was continually attentive  
 to find out ways and means to ease them,  
 to procure their Safety and Welfare. Some  
 Troops with he sent to *Germany*, having plun-  
 dered some Peasants Houses in *Champaign*  
 he told their Captains, that had stayed a few  
 Days at *Paris*, *Set out in all haste, put a stop*  
*to these Robberies, or else you shall answer in*  
*your own Persons for them. What! If my Peo-*  
*ple is ruined, who will maintain me, who will*  
*bear the Charges of the State, who will pay your*  
*Pensions, Gentlemen? By God, to assault my People*  
*is to assault my self.*

But was he perfect! Were there no Blemishes  
 in him? Indeed he was a Man, and as such,  
 subject to the Frailties of human Nature. But  
 one must not believe inconsiderately whatever  
 the Historians, Reformed or Catholics, have  
 written

written upon that Subject, the first could not forgive him his Change of Religion, the second were most part of them Leaguers or bribed by them. He has been charged with Avarice, but never a Prince was less avaricious than him, he paid all his Debts exactly, even those contracted at Play; he paid exactly all his Merchants, Artificers, &c. that worked for him, he erected several public Buildings, &c. encouraged Trade and Manufacturies, recompensed those who had well deserved of him or the State, unless there should be some particular Reason which hindered him to shew his Gratitude; he discharged many great national Debts, he eased his People from several burthensome Taxes, and he did spend every Year above three Millions of Livres in Pensions and Gratifications all over his Kingdom. Where is then his Avarice? True it is, he was not so prodigal as his Predecessors; but if he did husband well his Finances, it was for saving the Substance of his poor People, being thoroughly persuaded that nothing is more unjust for a Prince than to vex whole Provinces for gratifying some greedy Courtiers, the LEECHES of the People.

I much wish that I could so easily vindicate his Reputation as to two other Points, his Lewdness and his Passion for Playing; the first was the Occasion of many domestick Troubles and Vexations, and not unlikely of his Death; the Queen his Consort's Ill-humour was continually increased by the Reports which her *Italian* Servants, especially *La Galigai*, made unto her; she very seldom gave a good Word to the King her Husband.

As to his Religion, I cannot persuade myself that he was a thorough Roman Catholick,

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though he was obliged to appear so in publick, because he was too well instructed in the Christian Doctrine to admit the Tenets of that new Paganism. True it is, that he stood in a terrible dread of the Pope and his Satellites, especially the Jesuits; and that he endeavoured, by all means, to win them to his Interest, doing many things in their behalf, and overlooking many of their Misdemeanors, not to be obliged to punish them as they deserved; but it was not out of Love, or Respect, but rather out of Fear of their Knives, which however, he fell a Victim to.

He left three Sons and three Daughters by *Mary of Medicis*; *Lewis*, who succeeded him; the second, had no Name, he died before he was christen'd, in the fourth Year of his Age; he was stiled Duke of *Orleans*, which Title was devolved to the youngest Son, named *John Baptist Gaston*. His three Daughters were *Elizabeth*, *Christiana* and *Henrietta Mary*; the first was married to *Philip IV.* of *Spain*, the second to *Victor Amadeus* Duke of *Savoy*, and the last to *Charles I.* King of *Great-Britain*. His Bastards were in much greater number; six by *Gabrielle* of *Etrées*, two by *Henrietta* of *Balzac*, one by *Jacqueline de Bueil*, and two by *Charlotte des Essars*; besides several others which he refused to acknowledge for his own.

The Catastrophe of that great Prince gives us this Instruction, that we are not to depend upon the Grandeurs of this World; whatever Admiration we have for them, they are but Bubbles, they vanish the same Minute that they appear.

SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI.

HISTORY



